

IN THESE TIMES



Vol. 3, No. 25

May 9-15, 1979

70 Cents

Tom Hayden's California Dream



PLUS

Moberg reports on Steelworkers election results

Freeman goes to the NARAL convention

Johnstone writes about May Day in Europe

THE INSIDE STORY



Sadlowski forces score some gains in Steelworker vote

By David Moberg

The still-young opposition movement in the Steelworkers union—those loosely identified with defeated union presidential candidate Ed Sadlowski and with support of greater union democracy and militancy—generally held their own in the 5,300 local union elections held during April. Although there was no overwhelming tide of change in local leadership, insurgents made a few significant gains that should spread their base beyond District 31 in Chicago and northern Indiana, home of Sadlowski and current director Jim Balanoff.

But the significance of the elections is less in a showdown between Sadlowski or Balanoff and union president Lloyd McBride than it is in the expansion of rank and file pressure for a tougher brand of unionism and more membership control, especially the right to ratify contracts, now denied to members of the basic steel industry and some other sectors of the union.

There is still a network of dissidents and local activists who joined forces to back Sadlowski in 1976-77, but Steelworkers Fight Back never developed into the organized national caucus that many people wanted.

If there's a home base for the insurgents, it's Local 1010, Inland Steel's 18,000-worker mill in East Chicago, Indiana. Balanoff was succeeded as president there by his black vice-president, Bill Andrews, who beat back a challenge from Wally Hartman, a white candidate generally supported by McBride people. Andrews charges that international staff improperly aided Hartman (McBride supporters deny it) and that racism was stirred up in an attempt to defeat him in a local that is only 22 percent black and 22 percent Latino.

"More than anything else, it proves that people will vote for a man's record regardless of what color he is," Andrews says. "If you can get in and do the job, then you can win—but you've got to produce."

Balanoff also was pleased with the victory, which was smaller than his own (Andrews won by 5,561 votes to 4,825). Although he sees the local elections as strengthening the rank and file insurgents—and reflecting their past campaigns against racism and sexism—at least one close McBride official reads the narrower margin

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at 1010 and votes at some other locals as an indication that District 31 workers are turning from the Sadlowski/Balanoff "extremism" and could turn to McBride supporter Carl Alessi, the Illinois USW legislative director, who intends to run for district director in 1982.

In the back yard of the Steelworkers international, a rank and file slate won by a two-to-one margin at the Homestead works of U.S. Steel, site of the famous strike/lockout pitting workers against Andrew Carnegie. Pulled together behind a slogan of "dignity on the job and democracy in our union" at the time of the Sadlowski campaign, the Local 1397 Rank and File Caucus has led a fight for membership ratification of contracts. With 6,400 workers the local is the largest in the Pittsburgh area District 15, and the first basic steel local in that area to be won by leaders sympathetic to Sadlowski in the past.

Perhaps equally significant, many of the local officials in the area's basic steel mills who won re-election have been speaking out more openly in favor of membership ratification of contracts, according to Michelle McMills, newly elected as editor at the Homestead local. Later this year or in early 1980 the council of basic steel presidents are scheduled to decide on membership ratification, and the election appears to boost the chances for a direct vote on contracts.

There was a clean sweep of all the Youngstown-Warren, Ohio, basic steel locals by insurgent leaders, including some incumbents. The home of the Rank and File Team (RAFT), a long-established opposition movement, and one of the districts that voted for Sadlowski, District 26 has been heavily hurt by plant closings and will probably lose over 5,000 more jobs in the next year and a half according to current industry plans. The elections will not only give the fight against plant closings more vigorous, united union leadership but also boost the likely candidacy of Marvin Weinstock, one of Sadlowski's running mates, for district directorship.

Officers identified with Sadlowski also won top positions in some of the five locals at Granite City Steel, a division of National Steel near St. Louis, Mo., thus establishing an insurgent foothold in McBride's home district.

In Ontario, Canada, Cecil Taylor, an ardent advocate of greater Canadian autonomy within the union, won the local presidency at the head of a successful left slate that was loosely linked to Sadlowski.

Elsewhere, prominent insurgents held on to their posts at two locals of Bethlehem Steel at Sparrows Point, Md., in the iron ore range, and in many District 31 posts. One victor, Dave Wilson, is considered a strong bet for director in the Maryland district.

But there were setbacks, too. A Sadlowski supporter, bedridden from a stroke during the campaign, lost at one U.S. Steel Gary Works local in Gary, Ind., and Paul Kaczocha, a dynamic young president at the Bethlehem Steel local in northern Indiana, lost in a surprise vote for David Wilborn. Until a year ago, Wilborn was a close associate of Kaczocha in the Rank and File Caucus; but in the campaign he accused Kaczocha of fighting the international more than the company.

In an even more complex race, Alice Peuralla, a Sadlowski backer, defeated John Chico, a longtime friend of Sadlowski, in Local 65, the Chicago South Works of U.S. Steel. Peuralla says—in an interview to be published in *IN THESE TIMES* next week—that Chico had failed to fight hard enough on grievances and had neglected principles that originally motivated Steelworkers Fight Back.

If so, it's a reminder that once the spirit of democracy and rank and file assertiveness are unleashed, nobody—not even the originators of the movement—can rest long on their laurels. As the decisions about con-

tract ratification come up, followed in 1981 by a new steel contract, a convention and nominations for the 1982 presidential elections in the union, that rank and file pressure may become more intense.

Although the pro-Sadlowski forces are not strongly organized now and the lines of division within the union seem to have grown fuzzier, there is the distinct possibility of a more demanding and militant leadership rising from local and district elections in the coming years.

Factory shutdowns: prying the gates open

Roughly 20 percent of all manufacturing facilities shut down each year. As that happens, many communities throughout the country—but especially in the Northeast and Midwest—find that new jobs don't always replace the ones lost. That brings tremendous pain and financial hardship for families, new expenses and economic disruption for local economies and governments, and forced adaptation that often lowers the standard of living for the people in the area.

The problem has become more acute in recent years, and a political movement to combat the deleterious effects of plant closings is building steadily. It's significant in many ways: it links community and union political forces; it offers a new challenge to the trend toward greater and greater tax breaks for business and other corporate blackmail; and it encourages working class groups and leaders to consider seriously the need for democratic economic planning for a broad range of social values rather than private planning for private profit alone.

Over 1,100 people, representing many unions and a broad range of community groups, gathered in Columbus, Ohio, April 27-28, in the most dramatic display of this new plant shutdown opposition yet. Co-sponsored by the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, the Ohio UAW Community Action Program and the Ohio AFL-CIO, the conference—appropriately held in a marvelous old movie palace now shut down—featured speeches by Machinist president William Winpisinger, UAW president Douglas Fraser, Cleveland mayor Dennis Kucinich, civil rights and public employee leader James Farmer, the bishop of Youngstown, the OPIC lobbyist, a J.P. Stevens worker and a legislator who has introduced OPIC's bill to require companies to notify workers in advance of plant shutdowns and to pay workers for severance and communities for adjustment. (Similar bills are being introduced in at least eight other states.)

Although various strategies for dealing with plant shutdowns—including a proposal from Youngstown, Ohio, steelworkers for a nationwide march on Washington in the summer—were discussed, the conference was at least as important as a general meeting ground for many of the new progressive coalition actors who constitute either the left wing of the Democratic party or the beginnings of a third party of a socialist or social-democratic stripe—depending on whose crystal ball is being used.

Virtually all of the speeches hit hard—at corporate control and greed and at the bankrupt policies of "Jimmy Hoover" in the White House—and the crowd loved it. One of the longest, loudest cheers came when Fraser decried company executives who said any attempt to interfere with their managerial prerogatives to shut factories and throw people out of work would destroy free enterprise. "If that's what free enterprise is all about," Fraser answered, "then we shouldn't be concerned about destroying free enterprise—to hell with it."

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BUREAUS

SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404)881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212)865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617)738-9707. CALIFORNIA: Larry Remer, 3609 4th St., San Diego, CA 92103, (714)225-1128.

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IN THESE TIMES



ROCKY FLATS

By Timothy Lange

DENVER, COLO.

*can move yourself to Denver
can move yourself to Spain
you can't move away from the
clear rain
nowhere you can run, no, no, no
nowhere you can run*

AS THESE WORDS FROM FOLK-singer Holly Near wafted across the cool, drizzly mountain air, more than 12,000 assembled in protest at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant. Religious, political, and environmental groups, brought there for the demonstration by the Rocky Flats Group (RFG), sported such banners: "Mennonites against Weapons," "Why is Freedom," "Colorado Working for a Nuclear-Free Future," "Young Republicans against the

next day, 300 peaceful protesters, including Daniel Ellsberg, were arrested as they walked onto the weapons plant property.

The first day's crowd was twice as large as last year's and considerably more than organizers had expected for the hastily organized event. But among the anti-nuclear activists, there was wondering aloud how many protesters had come to see the nukes and how many just to listen to rock stars Bonnie Raitt and Jackson Browne. In spite of their nearness to one white-haired woman called "factory of megadeath," much of the youthful, white crowd was more celebratory than militant.

Organized labor support for the protest again wholly lacking. The only speaker cancelled out sick. The state AFL-CIO federation didn't officially join the protest as in 1978, but there was active antagonism from the steelworkers' local at Rocky Flats. A potential explosive counter-demonstration led by some workers was called off by behind-the-scenes intervention by Governor

The speaker at the demonstration, Ohio organizer Marian Stamp, pointed out another problem. "Where is the Spanish community? Where is the black community? Where is the poor, white community? The issue is survival." She said they should be diverted from nukes and to the needs of the poor, and that crucial for the anti-nuclear movement to "educate the masses of poor people on this issue."

From the mesa where the demonstration was held, the Rockwell International plant a mile away almost looks like

a scenic town against the mountain backdrop. If you sign up for one of the tours the company's public relations department conducts in the non-classified portions of the plant, your guide will say the place really is just like a small town, complete with street names. The "town" of Rocky Flats even has its own fire department, it will be pointed out. It needs one.

Routine industrial fires are not all that must be quenched. Occasionally, as in 1957 and 1969, some of the Plutonium 239 Rockwell uses to make nuclear bomb "triggers" spontaneously ignites. An uncontrolled fire could breach the plant's containment facilities and distribute large quantities of deadly particles in the direction of the area's prevailing winds.

According to Carl Johnson, the health director of Jefferson County where the plant is located, much plutonium has already escaped.

Based on data for the period 1969-71, Johnson's research shows that people exposed to Rocky Flats' plutonium emissions have substantially higher rates of cancer than people outside the exposure area. For men living up to 13 miles downwind, the cancer rate increased 24 percent; for women 10 percent. Higher cancer rates also showed up as far as 24 miles downwind of the plant, Johnson claims. In the two-year study period, plutonium emissions caused 501 "extra" cancers based on his statistics.

The most startling instance was the rate of testicular tumors. Normally, 17 cases could have been expected in the exposed population. Johnson found 40. He also found higher rates of cancers of the tongue, pancreas, brain, ovary and thyroid.

Although the *New York Times* published a story about Johnson's findings on April 10, none of the local media has seen fit to do so.

Dorothy Roberts, whose late husband was irradiated during bomb tests and later died of leukemia, pleaded with the crowd to stop nukes so as not to suffer as she and her husband did.

An activist in the American Indian Movement, Lorelei Means, asked the protesters to help stop still another aspect of the nuclear cycle, uranium mining on Indian land. "The multinational corporations and the U.S. government is the enemy," she said.

After a blunt description of what would have resulted if the Three Mile Island reactor had melted—radiation deaths and births of cretins, Boston pediatrician Helen Caldicott waxed messianic. Urging the protesters to be more committed in the fight against nukes, she proclaimed, "The American people can save the world."

Continued on page 7.



Singer Holly Near



George Wald



Daniel Ellsberg arrested

INSHORT



Relations of disappeared people in Chile wear photos of those who have not returned.

NATION

Nuclear risks underestimated

NEW YORK—Results of two National Academy of Sciences studies first leaked to the *New York Times* and then released last Monday reveal higher estimates of risks from nuclear power than ever previously published.

The studies estimate that nuclear energy will cause the cancer deaths of 2,000 Americans between 1975 and the end of the century.

Scientists interviewed by the *Times* prior to publication said that "sharp disagreement provoked heated and prolonged arguments and helped delay completion of the studies by 18 months.

Parts of the 4-year studies challenge the frequently stated position of the nuclear power industry that atomic power plants don't result in severe public health problems or deaths.

The study, titled "Risks Associated with Nuclear Power," concludes that there are additional deaths due to the mining of radioactive materials, their fabrication into fuel elements, the exposure of plant employees, the release of small amounts of radioactive materials into the atmosphere and the transportation, reprocessing and storage of nuclear materials.

An increase in nuclear power generation, a major accident in a power plant and possible problems with aging atomic plants could increase the incidence of cancer.

The second study, on the "Biological Effects of Ionizing Radiation" (BEIR), estimated that low levels of radiation from all sources would lead to the development of 220,000 cases of cancer during the lifetime of today's population. The calculations were based on cancers occurring as a result of radiation from natural sources, medical and dental x-rays, weapons test fallout, and nuclear power generation.

—Laura Cianci

Anti-McNamara, right and left

CHICAGO—When University of Chicago administrators accepted hotel chain heiress Mrs. Albert Pick's proposal that it award an annual \$25,000 prize to some worthy individual's contribution to world peace, they could hardly have anticipated that the decision would precipitate one of the broadest—and weirdest—blocs of campus opposition in recent history.

The University reportedly gains nothing and spends a fair amount in administering this new and unusual prize, which

was awarded by a specially picked committee without any of the usual procedures for honorary academic awards. That alone ruffled feathers of some academics, who thought it was a "hick" deference to big money and a violation of academic honor. Then the clincher came: the first prize goes to Robert McNamara, now head of the World Bank but equally well known as Lyndon Johnson's Secretary of Defense and a major perpetrator of U.S. warfare in Indochina.

Predictably, a number of liberal and left professors objected, joined by those who disliked the precedent of awarding a "political" and non-academic prize through questionable procedures. That expanded the objectors to the conservative, established ranks of the university, some of whom were prepared to decline their invitations to an exclusive dinner for MacNamara and show up picketing in black tie and tails instead. Students and junior faculty, outraged at the money going to MacNamara when student fees are going up and salaries and hiring are being held down, are expected to join in. But even the right-wing economics department at the University, famous as advisors to countries such as fascist Chile, has yielded opponents to the prize: they object to MacNamara's World Bank meddling in the rigors of "free enterprise."

—David Moberg

Who will pay 3 Mile Island bills?

WASHINGTON—Taxpayers are being asked to foot the bills for the Three Mile Island accident. On Monday, W. Wilson Goode, chairman of the state's Public Utility Commission, testifying before the Senate nuclear regulation subcommittee said that as a result of the Three Mile Island accident Pennsylvania consumers face potential rate increases of 30 to 40 percent.

He said that although his commission is still a month away from a rate-making decision allocating costs of the accident, "It appears the cost will be devastating to both consumers and stockholders."

Goode asked for "low interest or no interest loans" to General Public Utilities Corporation, the parent firm of Metropolitan Edison, which operates the Three Mile Island plant because the "commission could reach a point where we find the economic consequences are so heavy that they cannot be borne by those parties."

The cost of purchasing replacement electricity for Three Mile Island customers is estimated to be \$800,000 a day in addition to the cost of the actual clean-up operations, which continue to increase.

The most recent problem to develop at the plant, said Denny Ross, NRC deputy director of project management, is the amount of highly-radioactive water that has spilled into the reactor buildings.

The water in the building stands about five feet deep. The sump pumps used to remove the contaminated water, said Ross, appear to be out of order. He said "fear of spills and release of radioactivity is the main reason nobody wants to pump out the water. Some other method of disposal might have to be devised," he said.

Goode suggested that the government provide outright grants to help defray the cost of purchasing replacement electricity. He said the government should "take whatever steps are necessary to prevent consumers and stockholders from shouldering the entire burden of the accident."

—Laura Cianci

New York opposes Columbia

NEW YORK—The New York City Council unanimously passed two resolutions opposing Columbia University's Triga Nuclear Reactor.

"This action," said Council member Ruth Messinger (D-Manhattan) who introduced the resolution, "is evidence of the overwhelming opposition of concerned city residents and their council representatives to Columbia's reactor."

Resolution 540 calls upon the New York state legislature to pass a bill that would amend the state's public service law to prohibit construction or operation of any atomic facility within cities having a population of more than one million.

The second resolution, 541, calls upon Columbia University to dismantle the Triga reactor. Messinger said, "The University's response to the outcry of opposition to its reactor after the Three Mile Island Accident is that it will not activate its reactor in the foreseeable future. This position is unacceptable because it says in effect that [they] still plan to operate Triga, but will wait until the uproar dies down."

—Laura Cianci

Agent Orange lawsuit planned

NEW YORK—A federal court panel has decided to consolidate over two dozen class action law suits brought by Vietnam veterans who say they're suffering from exposure to the herbicide Agent Orange.

The case will be tried at U.S. District Court in Westbury, Long Island. Almost all of the suits were brought by Victor Yannacone, a Long Island attorney who spearheaded the legal battle against the pesticide DDT. Yannacone said he will try to prove that Agent Orange, "contaminated" with the toxic dioxine, has caused cancer in Vietnam veterans and birth defects in their offspring.

Named as defendants in the suit are the manufacturers of Agent Orange: Dow Chemical Corporation, Hercules Inc. and Monsanto Corp. The class action suit seeks to force the defendants to establish a fund for compensating the victims of Agent Orange. The first Agent Orange lawsuit was initiated by Paul Reuttershan, last December. Reuttershan died of intestinal cancer that he was convinced was caused by his exposure to Agent Orange while in Vietnam. This suit is legally considered a products liability case and is the largest of its kind. Members of the Reuttershan family and friends have started an organization called Agent Orange Victims International.

—Jon Kalish

Still another nuclear spill

An official of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission claimed last week that the radioactive gas fuming from the nuclear power plant at Zion, Ill., 40 miles north of Chicago, was "not of concern to workers at the plant or residents of the vicinity."

The escaping gas occurred when an accident spilled 700 gallons of radioactive water onto the floor of a reactor auxiliary building. Fumes from the spilled water were picked up by the building's ventilation system and vented into the atmosphere.

The accident was described by Jo Strasma, a spokesman for NRC, as the first accident this year in which radioactivity was released. He then elaborated after some pressure from *IN THESE TIMES* on past accidents.

In 1975, 15,000 gallons of water were spilled with the consequent release of radioactivity. In 1977, three "incidents" occurred that did not, he said, involve any radioactivity but for which Common wealth Edison was fined \$21,000.

But, he said, he couldn't give us any more details about other accidents at the Zion plant without research. "There are 21 plants in this area," he said. "I can't keep track of all the details."

When asked whether the earlier accidents had been reported to the press, he answered that press releases had been sent out. In the case of the press release regarding last week's accident, the major emphasis given by NRC was on the lack of danger posed by the accident, a position all too familiar, and one designed to insure that newspeople unfamiliar with the workings of nuclear plants would not investigate further.

—Florence H. Levinsohn

WORLD

Iran breaks off ties with Egypt

TEHRAN—Iran is leading the Arab world in breaking ties with Egypt after repeatedly criticizing President Anwar Sadat for signing a peace treaty with Israel.

Ayatollah Khomeini, leader of the Iranian revolution, ordered the severance of diplomatic relations with Egypt, the Iranian news agency Pars said.

Egypt expressed regret at Iran's action and summoned home its diplomats in Iran. Egypt, the first nation to harbor the exiled Shah of Iran, accused Iran of bowing to pressures from Arab states opposed to the Egyptian-Israeli treaty.

An Egyptian spokesman in Cairo said that "Egypt condemns the Iranian regime's agreement to be drawn into yielding to pressures exerted by [Arab] rejectionist states and breaking off diplomatic relations in an attempt to cover up its own internal problems."

A resumption of diplomatic relations between Iran and Libya, a leader of the Arab "rejectionists" was predicted by political sources.

—Laura Cianci

More Chileans arrested

CHILE—Sixty-three members of the group Relatives of Disappeared Prisoners (GRDP) were arrested in Santiago after they had chained themselves to the railings of the Chamber of Deputies of the Chilean parliament.

The relatives, 60 women and three men, took the action to dramatize their demands that the junta account for their relatives who had been arrested by the junta's secret police, DINA, several years ago and have since disappeared.

The widow of poet Pablo Neruda, Matilde Urrutian, and one other demonstrator were later released. The remaining 61 demonstrators were still in custody a week later, charged with creating a disturbance in a public place.

Thirty-five members of the GRDP who did not participate in the demonstrations staged a hunger strike in Basilica, El Salvador, April 19-22, in protest of the arrests.

—Laura Cianci

IN THE NATION

NUCLEAR PROTEST

Hopi elder David Monagye (right) reveals his prophecy about Mt. Taylor.

Navajo miners die of cancer

By David Redman

MT. TAYLOR, N. M.

IF YOU WANT TO MINE URANIUM you must first find a cure for cancer," Hopi elder David Monagye, a Navajo from Cove, Ariz., told a crowd of over 500 Native Americans and anti-nuclear protesters gathered at the foot of Mount Taylor in the booming New Mexico uranium belt Saturday, April 28.

Speaking in his native language, Monagye, who has cancer himself after 30 years in the mines, told of a legacy of cancer and illness left in his community by the Kerr McGee Corp., which mined uranium in primitive mines in Northwest New Mexico in the '30s and '40s.

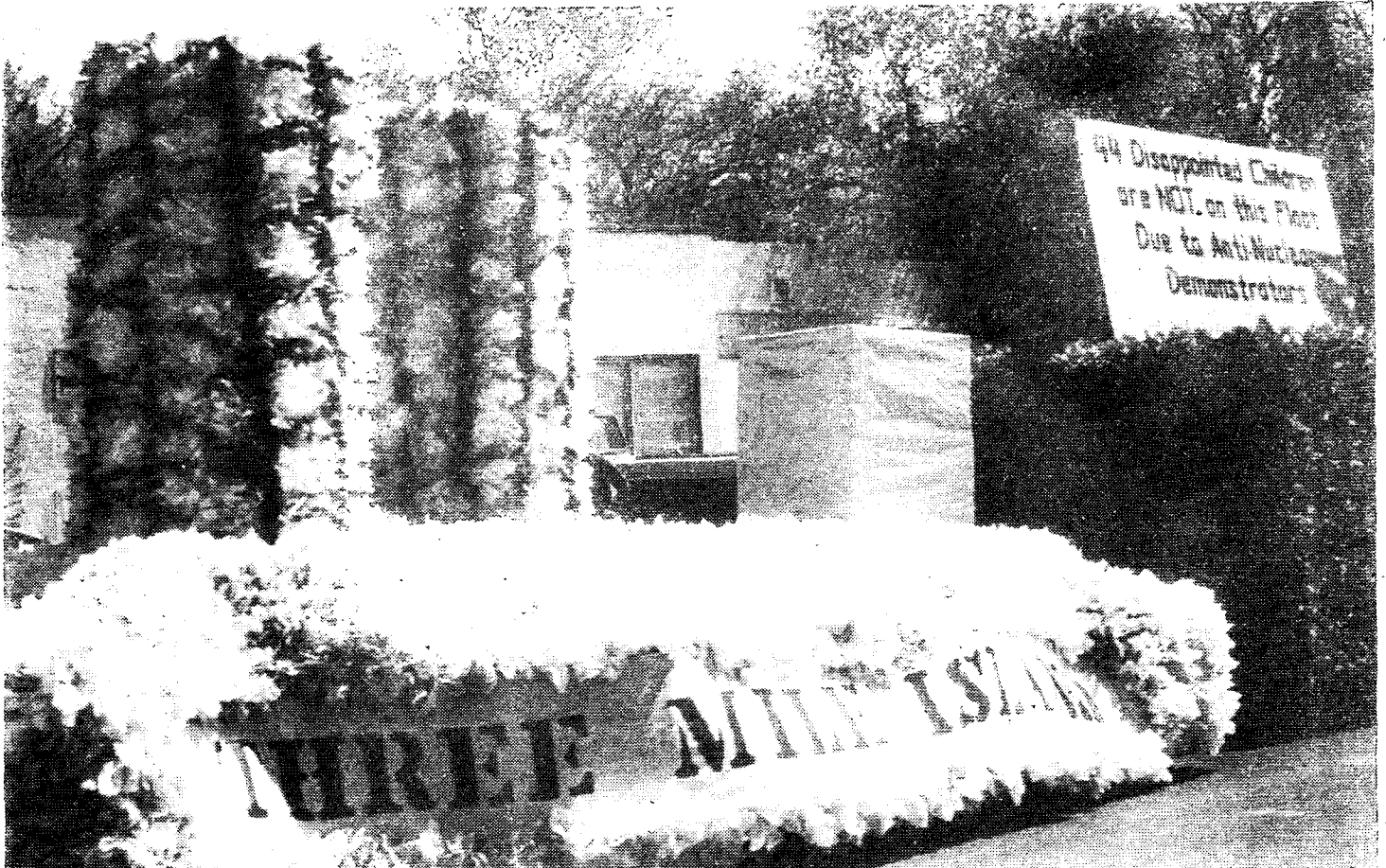
Monagye was only one of dozens of Native American speakers from the Navajo, Hopi, Acoma and Lakota tribes who told of mounting human and environmental costs at the front end of the nation's troubled fuel cycle. Others, including Boston pediatrician Dr. Hans Oelofse, Nobel Laureate George Wald, leaders of the American Indian Movement, and Chicanos from neighboring land grants, spoke about the historical and health implications of the new uranium rush.

But the protest, organized by Indian groups from throughout the Southwest, focused largely on the spiritual and economic implications of mining and milling uranium on Indian land. Over 50 percent of the new yellow gold lies beneath Indian land—most of it in the Grants uranium belt, whose rugged mesas and dry New Mexico terrain is the home of Navajos, Lagunas and Acomas.

At the center of the Grants uranium belt lies a 14,000 foot extinct volcano that both the Navajos and the surrounding Pueblos regard with sacred reverence. Although the mountain lies on Forest Service land, Mt. Taylor is used by the Acoma Pueblo each year for ceremonial dances, and is revered by the Navajos as the Southern boundary of their universe.

But Mt. Taylor holds something else besides religious significance—130 million pounds of uranium. The Gulf Oil Corporation has been trying to get at this uranium for over five years now. Gulf has drilled two of the largest and deepest mine shafts in the nation and spent over \$200 million.

In addition, the corporation has pumped millions of gallons of water out of the mines. Such "dewatering" activities by Gulf and other uranium companies in New Mexico have been a source of concern (and lawsuits) among water-conscious farmers and ranchers (both Chi-



What happy parade float is this? A pro-nuke float bemoaning the kids' absence because of those anti-nuke folks.

cano and Navajo) who fear contamination of groundwater by mining activities and a general drop in the water table.

But the concern for water is only part of what a growing coalition of young Indians and traditionalists see as sacrilege.

A different value system.

"These mountains were embodied with a certain wealth, and we shouldn't begin to disturb them," added John Smith, from the Navajo Medicine Men's Association. "Our elders have taught us that when you push nature, the balance changes, and she will fight back," he said. Smith is one of a large group of Navajo medicine men opposing uranium development. "We're talking about a different value system," he added.

Describing that value system in vivid detail was Hopi traditional elder, Grandfather David Monagye. "It's like on the side of the Crackerjacks box," the partially blind Monagye said of developers who take Indian land and resources, "The more you eat, the more you want."

Monagye, like many Indians at the protest, is at odds with the pro-development stance of his tribe and was active in the struggle to prevent coal strip mining at Black Mesa in Arizona.

"Navajos and Indian people will not stand around and see the desecration of

Mt. Taylor," John Redhouse, a Navajo from the Four Corners area who organized the protest, told IN THESE TIMES. "We are opposed to the continued destruction and the physical and spiritual genocide of our land and people."

According to Redhouse, who is from the American Indian Environmental Council, uranium development on Indian land in the Southwest has followed an almost classical colonial pattern with the Indians and the Chicanos who mine the ore and live in the midst of boomtowns and huge tailings piles bearing the price of mineral exploitation while the multinational corporations take the huge profits out of the area. Per capita income on the Navajo reservation, meanwhile, hovers around \$1000 per year, with unemployment at about 40 percent.

With such desperate needs, Navajos and other Indians are tempted by high-paying jobs in the mines. But 25 Navajo miners have already died of what local doctors call radiation-induced lung cancers contracted in the ventless mines operated by the Kerr McGee Corporation in the northern tip of the Navajo reservation and 20 others are now suffering from the deadly disease.

In spite of repeated requests, Kerr McGee and the Department of Energy have refused to accept responsibility for the deaths. And for the descendants and relatives of the unfortunate miners the danger is not over; many homes in the area—even the only high school—were built upon radioactive tailings left from an abandoned uranium mill nearby.

"Uranium mining has been part of the Navajo people for some time now—because it has provided jobs and a means to provide for our families," said Raymond Keeswood, a former uranium miner from the Shiprock area. "But," he added, "material things begin to dwindle after a few years and there's a lot of human suffering associated with mining. I have had friends who have died because of the mining, and I have seen Navajo widows eking out a living, holding out their hands and begging."

Losses exceed gains.

Keeswood is a member of the Coalition for Navajo Liberation, a group that opposes leasing of 400,000 acres of Navajo land by the Exxon Corporation. The lease—to be used for uranium exploration

and mining—was arranged by the tribal leadership over the heads of Navajos in the immediate area.

"We're not getting rich from uranium," Raymond Arviso, a Navajo rancher from Crownpoint, another area of the Navajo reservation heavily affected by uranium development, told the crowd. "Our water continues to flow out of the mines, and our safety and that of our livestock is threatened. Once the jobs are gone there isn't anything left for the Navajos to do."

Arviso is president of the Navajo Ranchers Association, which is party to an important law suit that could halt uranium development in both New Mexico and Wyoming. The suit, now called Schlesinger v. Peshlakai, seeks to block uranium exploration and development until adequate environmental impact statements are prepared.

Speaking about another effect of uranium mining in the area, Arviso pointed to the tons of uranium mill tailings located ten miles to the south of the Mt. Taylor protest as a symbol of the arrogance of companies like Kerr-McGee, United Nuclear, Anaconda, Sohio, and Mobil.

Tailings—or the dust-like waste material left after the yellowcake (pure uranium oxide) is milled out of the raw ore—have become one of the state of New Mexico's biggest environmental problems. Sixty million tons of the waste material have been left uncovered to the wind and weather at ten sites on or near Indian land in New Mexico.

The notoriously long-lived tailings contain 60-75 percent of the uranium's original radioactivity, mostly in the form of radon gas and thorium—a fact that has prompted one NRC member to call tailings "the dominant contribution to radiation exposure from the nuclear fuel cycle."

The greatest hazard from the tailings is that the radioactive elements in the piles will leach into the surface or ground water or be blown into the lungs of nearby residents. New Mexico residents are already the victims of airborne contamination from uncontrolled venting or radon gas from the mines.

Although Congress recently passed a bill providing for federal (and not corporate) cleanup of the tailings piles, in New Mexico—for the most part—the tailings are still uncovered and blowing in the wind.

Vermont uranium site

STRATTON, Vt.

About 100 uranium mining opponents tramped up a steep, muddy Vermont mountain April 28 to a site where a West German firm had planned to prospect for the nuclear fuel. The action was one of eight protests against uranium mining and in defense of Native Americans' land rights around the country that weekend.

The mining site in Vermont has temporarily, at least, been spared further development because Urangeseellschaft, U.S.A., withdrew its application for a state land-use permit in mid-April, claiming the political climate was unfavorable. The application was withdrawn after hefty grassroots organizing against it and after a bill was introduced into the state legislature to control uranium min-

ing, milling and prospecting.

Before the hike and during a short ceremony at the mining site participants celebrated the firm's withdrawal. They said Vermont's actions could help set a national precedent as international energy firms seek uranium in spots where no such mining has ever before occurred.

The Vermont demonstration was sponsored by a wide range of statewide organizations, but much of the impetus came from newly formed groups in the communities threatened by the mining firms. Southern Vermont ski areas, fearing a decline in tourism if mining becomes a reality, have sided with environmental groups in opposing the prospecting overtures.

—Alan Abbey and Laura King

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

An abortion rights group adjusts its strategy and image

NARAL will focus on elections, will not speak of abortion, but of the right to choose.

By Jo Freeman

WASHINGTON

THIS YEAR MARKS THE BEGINNING of an aggressive campaign to let legislators know that compulsory pregnancy is *not* the will of the people," said Karen Mulhauser, executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL). "We know that the majority of Americans believe that abortion should remain a woman's personal decision and our goal is to organize that majority."

This message was hammered home last week at NARAL's tenth annual conference in Washington, D.C., by all the plenary speakers. Just in case some participants might miss it, all the Sunday workshops were devoted to "How to Work within State/National/Local Politics." While the pro-choice group does not concur with the right-to-life claim of sweeping victories in the '78 elections, it is obvious that this new emphasis is a response to the political success of the anti-abortion organizations.

As plenary speaker Michael MacLeod, executive director of the House Republican Conference, pointed out, "Figures indicate that 8 percent of the 420,000 people who defeated Sen. Clark [in Iowa] did so because of abortion. That's 33,600 votes. Clark lost by 28,000 votes. That's 28,000 reasons to get involved in electoral politics."

The National Right-to-Life Committee (NRLC) claims their successes were due to an intensive voter identification program in targeted states. Local right-to-life groups carried out systematic surveys to identify anti-abortion voters. (An interviewee who says he or she is against abortion but then supports any exceptions beyond saving the mother's life was listed as pro-abortion in the survey.) Once identified, voters were sent literature on anti-abortion candidates, and were "pulled" on election day by local right-to-life groups.

These activities were the subject of six complaints filed by NARAL with the Federal Election Commission on April 30 charging violation of federal campaign laws. One complaint charged the Life Amendment Political Action Committee

with illegally soliciting donations from the general public. According to federal election law, a political action committee (PAC) connected with a membership organization may solicit contributions only from the membership pool of that organization. Life PAC solicits from the general public on the grounds that it is a totally independent fund, but NARAL asserts that there is a close working relationship and overlap of personnel between Life PAC and NRLC. For example, Life PAC's chairman is Sean Morton Downey, who is also the Washington lobbyist of NRLC. NRLC executive director Judie Brown is married to Life PAC treasurer Paul Brown. Four of the other five members of Life PAC's board are officers or members of NRLC's board.

At a press conference NARAL staffers also charged that Life PAC and NRLC are intertwined with the right wing. They asserted that when NRLC targeted the legislators to be defeated in 1980, they deliberately overlooked any conservative pro-abortion members of Congress. Instead, they exclusively targeted liberals whose districts were vulnerable, even when—like Sen. Frank Church (D-ID)—they are not strongly pro-abortion. The other congressmen on NRLC's "hit list" are Mo Udall (D-AZ), Robert Edgar (D-PA), Joseph Fisher (D-VA), Robert Drinan (D-MA), Harold Hollenback (R-NJ), John Anderson (R-IL), George McGovern (D-SD), John Culver (D-IA), Birch Bayh (D-IN), Patrick Leahy (D-VT), and Bob Packwood (R-OR).

At a breakfast of NARAL members and Congress members after the convention, Packwood told them that 1980 will be the make-or-break year for abortion rights. He said right-to-life needs a significant victory in 1980 to have any chance of getting its Human Life Amendment out of Congress.

Reminding pro-choicers that "your commitment in 1980 has to be as great as theirs," he said that if NRLC can clearly demonstrate its ability to defeat a pro-choice legislator, members of Congress

will simply decide to pass the heat along to the state legislators in the form of a constitutional amendment proscribing abortion. If this happens, he said, it would make the state battles over the ERA "look like a picnic."

NARAL not only plans to support the legislators targeted by NRLC, but has targeted some of its own. It would not say who they were, on the grounds that it preferred not to alert NRLC, but did say there were fewer than a dozen, and all were conservatives.

To meet its electoral objectives, NARAL is changing its image in order to "appeal to mainstream America," stated public information director Janet Beals. NARAL is dropping the "alpha" symbol that has adorned its material for ten years, in favor of a slice of Miss Liberty's head. It is muting its use of the word "abortion" in favor of the slogan "Choice: An American Right."

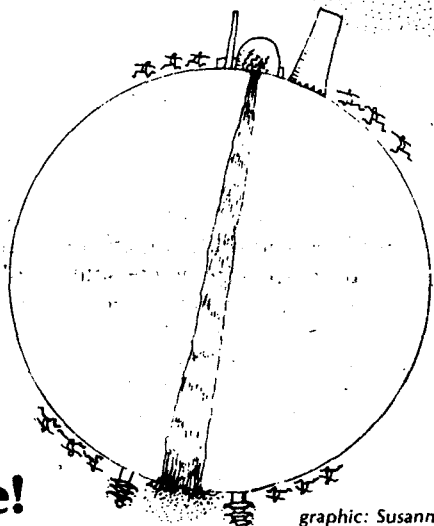
Mulhauser explained that the alpha symbol was confusing; people repeatedly asked what it meant. But NARAL founder Cindy Cisler thinks more is involved in the decision. "'Miss Liberty' and 'choice' doesn't say what we're about," she said. "We shouldn't be so apologetic about abortion; it implies we're ashamed of it."

She pointed out that NARAL may have retreated from its original position on abortion. Its statement of purpose, adopted in 1969, said it was "dedicated to the elimination of all laws and practices that would compel any woman to bear a child against her will..." and it was concerned with providing safe abortions by qualified physicians to all women seeking them.

The latest NARAL leaflet states that it "is dedicated to guaranteeing the constitutional right to safe and legal abortion" and "concerned with maintaining the Supreme Court abortion decision." The Supreme Court decision falls far short of eliminating all laws and practices that compel a woman to bear a child against her will.

"THE CHINA SYNDROME"

China Syndrome or China Effect—Name given by scientists and engineers to a possible consequence of a reactor fuel meltdown. The fuel would become a molten mass of intensely radioactive material that could burn through the reactor vessel and containment building, continuing into the earth to...China?



graphic: Susanna Natti

...is no joke!

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THE MILITARY

House resolution sparks debate on draft

by A. Lin Neumann

WASHINGTON

THE DRAFT, THAT ENEMY OF the young and the left in the '60s, is once again easing onto the public scene. On Monday, the military personnel subcommittee of the House of Representatives approved a measure that would begin registering 18-year-olds with their draft board in 1981. The resolution, which also increases selective service authorization by \$20 million, passed unanimously but will face a stiff battle on the House floor as lines are drawn on this controversial issue.

The same day, April 30 (the fourth anniversary of the war in Vietnam) was marked by a previously arranged rally against the draft attended by over 1,500 persons on the Capitol steps. Shouts of "Hell no, we won't go," from the mostly student-age crowd brought back echoes of the huge demonstrations that once fanned out from the same steps ten years ago.

Rev. Barry Lynn kicked off the event saying, "We don't want to be deceived and we want a full-blown debate before they take us away again." Lynn, a United Church of Christ minister and constitutional lawyer, is chairman of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, which co-sponsored the rally with several other groups.

Representative Jim Weaver (D-OR), Don Edwards (D-CA) and Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-OR), along with crippled Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic addressed the protesters.

Kovic, confined to his wheelchair, reminded the audience of the last draft with his physical condition. He received by far the warmest response with his statement that, "The war mongers in this land... these bastards, these madmen, have the audacity to say we need a draft."

The draft may not be perceived as a clearcut issue in the public mind, however. Representative Paul McCloskey (R-CA), who once challenged Richard Nixon on an anti-war platform in 1968, is supporting the most extreme form of a draft in the Congress. He sponsored the National Youth Service Act, which calls for a form of compulsory national service for all youth, one component of which is military service.

McCloskey attended the noon rally but appeared miffed and surprised when he was not asked to speak. He told *IN THESE TIMES* that he supports registration as a move toward national service and a step towards the draft. While speak-

ers blamed the draft for American intervention in Vietnam, McCloskey said, "the draft was not the cause for Vietnam." He downplayed the role of a new draft in future interventions, seeing it as a matter of necessity. Echoing other liberal and conservative Hill proponents he said, "Our military strength is below capability. The army is no longer combat ready."

He further wants a military that is "broad-based" and represents most people instead of the heavy concentration of blacks and poor people that the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) is said to represent.

McCloskey's position, and that of liberal co-sponsors like Paul Simon (D-IL) and Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), tend to make the waters of the debate muddy indeed. A representative from Simon's office downplayed the military component of the McCloskey proposal. She told *ITT*, "Universal service may ease youth unemployment."

National service "premature."

Barry Lynn, in an interview with *ITT*, said that the national service debate is premature and unnecessary. He views the registration move as essentially militaristic and charged that statements assailing either the quality or quantity of the AVF were false and deceptive. He characterized the move toward the draft as a harbinger of future intervention. "We don't have enough bodies to do effective sabre rattling. We cannot intervene in Africa or the Mideast if we can't force people to go."

Rep. Weaver has consistently pointed to the draft as a dangerous sign of increased militarism. "The volunteer force is working and working well," he said at the rally. "But the Pentagon wants cheap bodies in order to spend more on military hardware," as draftees would not receive the income inducement available under the volunteer system.

He pointed to a two-edged sword in his remarks, the other being intervention in the Mideast. "Do you want an American soldier to die in the Mideast to protect our gas-guzzling habits?" he asked the crowd.

Morris Janowitz, a professor at the University of Chicago and a noted expert on the AVF said, "Over the short run we have to make the All-Volunteer Force work. Our forces are sufficient to control any immediate threat." Some form of national service is on the horizon, he said, but that debate should be carried on in the mid-'80s, when a clearer assessment of needs is possible.

A reason frequently mentioned for beefing up our forces is the desire to have

An RFAG member, Kathy Harrington, told *IN THESE TIMES* that no matter how successful, the demonstration was only the "tip of the iceberg." It is essential, she said, to win over people who would never come to a demonstration and to translate the anti-Rocky Flats movement into effective political influence at the state and national levels. This effort will include more education as well as conventional lobbying. "It's exhausting work, but we're getting closer to success," said Harrington.

The next day, more than 300 peaceful protesters, including Ellsberg, were arrested at the Rocky Flats plant. Buoyed by the huge turnout at the mass rally the day before, the protesters quietly defied federal officials and walked onto the weapons plant property.

All had been especially trained in non-violence, and most went limp and were carried to waiting buses. Everyone was later released on personal recognizance. They face possible punishment of a year in jail and \$1000 fines.

During the months following last year's rally at the Flats, more than 100 protesters were arrested for trespassing. Those who have come to trial were convicted and placed on probation.



Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic speaks at anti-draft rally.

an effective "ready reserve" in the case of a prolonged ground war in Europe. We now have 2.1 million persons on active duty and 1.1 million in the reserve. The category of Individual Ready Reserves (IRR), those who would be sent in as battlefield replacements, is seen as a deficit of the AVF.

Jeff Record, who handles draft issues for Georgia Democratic Sen. Sam Nunn, a strong supporter of the draft, said there was currently little incentive for individuals to join the reserve and, as a result, we are over half a million short of desired levels. He dismisses anti-draft arguments by putting the draft forward as the solution to a potential manpower crisis should we ever have to fight a land war.

"We couldn't have beat Hitler without the draft," he reminded me.

It is said that registration and the draft would speed up our ability to respond in Europe. Record sees registration as crucial because "we don't even know who the people are in this country who are 18 years old."

Janowitz, Lynn and others tend to discount the idea of a prolonged land war in Europe, citing, for example, the fact that NATO has over 7,000 tactical nuclear weapons on hand. A genuine threat to NATO would invite disastrous nuclear retaliation that would likely leave the draft a moot point.

Lynn further claims that recent studies show our NATO allies to have a less than 30-day supply of ammunition with which to wage a war. "We would be all by ourselves," he said. Janowitz described the probability of a European war as "very, very low."

McCloskey pointed to the fact that we have far too many blacks in uniform under the AVF and Simon has called it a case of "economic conscription." Civil rights groups have thus far been quiet on the issue.

Draft opponents say that using the draft to solve inequity is erroneous. "Random conscription," Lynn said, "for many blacks would mean no job, since for many blacks the only job opportunities are in the military."

A representative of the Urban League told *ITT* that the percentage of blacks in the military is of no real concern. The issue is "economic injustice."

Ron Dellums (D-CA), called the draft move "racist" in a recent statement. "Some of my colleagues are contending that the military is becoming too black and too nonwhite, and that, as a result, this is detrimental to military morale and effectiveness. This slanderous innuendo cannot go unchallenged, because it is a direct affront to the integrity, competence and patriotism of every nonwhite person in the military."

While the draft ignores the key economic reasons for high black enlistment, it does not seem to ignore unspoken reservations about the performance of black soldiers in a potential military adventure in Africa. Many military observers feel that U.S. intervention against black nationalists in southern Africa, for example, would be met by widespread GI resistance.

The current registration bill is vague on the point of registering women for the draft, but it seems certain that constitutional precedents will require the law to include women. Most draft proponents appear to have no problem with the registration of women but draw the line at combat.

What is happening this spring in Congress is actually several confusing debates. One involves registration. Another, the military draft versus the volunteer army. The third, universal national service.

The latter is clearly not going to succeed in this session. Registration may be a step, however, to some form of compulsory servitude for every young American, a move which Lynn labels as "clearly unconstitutional" and which McCloskey feels will help solve a variety of ills from unemployment to "boredom and purposelessness."

The second issue, military draft, has been deferred for the time being and no bill is expected to pass either chamber this year.

The first, however, has already crossed a crucial hurdle and may result in millions of 18-year-olds lining up once again to be counted for possible military service. Observers here are expecting a major floor debate in the House over the registration question. It is being seen by both opponents and supporters alike as a key to reinstatement of the draft.

Rocky Flats

Continued from page 7.

Caldicott, an anti-nuclear author who also spoke at last year's demonstration, dropped the jaws of several anti-nuclear organizers when she called workers at the plant "murderers."

A standing ovation greeted Daniel Ellsberg. Along with others, the former consultant was convicted last year of trespassing after a symbolic blockade of the tracks that carry plutonium trains into the plant. The judge put the trespassers on probation.

"It's not we who are on probation," said Ellsberg. "The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the nuclear industry, the government of this state are on probation until they do something about [this plant]."

Referring to the mass suicide last year in Jonestown, Ellsberg called for a rejection of the cult of leadership that has Americans accepting the "Kool-Aid of nuclear poison." A "mutiny" is what is needed, he said. "It's insubordination time. We have to say to our leaders, 'This is crazy. It's not for me or my children.'"

IN THE WORLD

NICARAGUA

With the guerrillas at a Sandinista mountain hideout



By Leo Gabriel

SEGOVIA, NICARAGUA

FORGIVE US, COMRADES, BUT we have to take these security precautions." I was scarcely able to understand the words when one of the men, whose face I couldn't see in the dimness, began to search me top to bottom looking for arms I might have brought. While his hands were carefully going through the pockets of my shirt, I went through the same sensations I had felt at the military checkpoints in the past few days. With my hands over my head I felt helpless.

"Sit in the back of the station wagon, and don't make any noise." The voice belonged to Alfonso, the military chief of one of the training camps that the Sandinistas were operating in the mountains of Segovia. We had waited all day for them to pick up our little group of three journalists who were privileged to be the first guests of a guerrilla encampment in the interior of Nicaragua.

One of the men took out a red and black handkerchief: "We are going to blindfold you. Don't touch the things on the floor." I wanted to ask if it was arms on the floor, but I kept quiet. What might happen if the national guard stopped the car, as was occurring frequently these days? Would we tell them we were kidnapped journalists? That we had nothing to do with the Sandinistan Front? That we didn't know that these people were carrying arms? Ridiculous. Suddenly, a phrase I had used so many times in the communities on the outskirts of Managua gained new meaning: "We are with you, comrades." There was no doubt; our fate was in the hands of the Nicaraguan guerrillas.

We drove a long way. When the car stopped, they took off the blindfold and signaled us to get out. Against the light of the stars I began to distinguish the silhouette of a soldier: his rifle, his beret, his uniform, his boots: "I'd like to introduce you to a soldier of the revolution," Alfonso said solemnly. The youth took us some 100 meters towards the edge of a forest where a group in uniform was already awaiting us. They greeted us cordially and asked us to put a hand over the flashlight we had brought with us, "so the enemy can't see us."

The path through the woods was narrow and filled with pine cones. I could see only the boots that I was following, al-

most at a run. When we took a break, I realized that there was no path. We were making a path as we went.

We had walked about an hour when we heard a woman's voice: "We've been waiting for you. The mail told us you were going to arrive. The firmness in her voice gave away an almost maternal concern. "Lie down here, tomorrow we will talk."

I couldn't sleep. Not only because of the humid cold but because I couldn't help but think of the thousands of images that contributed to the formation of the student consciousness in the '60s and '70s: images of the Cuban revolution, of Che, images that glorify the gun in a raised fist, that anticipate the triumph and mystify it as if the victory were a kingdom outside this world: the unreachable.

The reality that we were going to know was much cruder. "Uno," the military chief who woke us at 4:30 in the morning, told us what the guerrillas were doing that day:

"At 5 in the morning we awake and gather up the plastic sheets under which we sleep. We fix the knapsacks and leave them tied up. The officer of the day is responsible to see that no one stays in the camp; the watch is the last to leave for the field where we exercise until 6:30. After that we come back here to make breakfast. Then, from 8 until 10 we have classes in armaments and each one receives a gun to clean and prepare for an encounter. From 10 until 12, we have political discussions because here we are not only training militarily, but politically so that we may be leaders in the community.

At 12 we take lunch, between 12:30 and 1:30 there is a rest and you can sit and do whatever you wish. At 1:30 we exercise again until 4. Then, until 5 we have military practice and after that we return to camp by 5:30 to get the sleeping shelters ready. We have dinner and afterwards everyone goes to sleep. The only one to stay up is the guard on watch, here in the camp and in the hills.

But this day was different: some 30 girls and boys were arriving to be integrated into the Sandinistan Front. "They are coming well identified," explained Alfonso. "We don't want infiltrators. These are young people who have not been prostituted yet; we are afraid of adults because they have a callous on the brain that is difficult to get rid of, while the youth want to leave a better future for their children than we have left for ours, an inheritance of freedom."

It was surprising to hear these words from Alfonso, a man of about 50 and one of the oldest combatants of the Sandinistan Front. "Before arriving here these people have stayed in one of our adaptation centers that are 'safe houses' where they were accustomed to a regimen of discipline: posting guard, cooking, etc. They aren't allowed to leave and they have to study the whole day and part of the night, and they have to pass through a school of political military theory before coming here where they learn the handling of arms." How much time do they spend there and for how long do they study here before going into combat?

"That depends on the intelligence of the comrade and his or her degree of discipline. It can take 15 days or a month to gain entry into this school, but then it might take an even longer time to become accustomed to the conditions of the moun-



Left: A Sandinista cooks Spam for a camp lunch. Above: Sandinista recruits are given military training after a month of political education. Right: A National Guard tank and soldiers rumble down the streets of Managua.

tains. Owing to the practice that I have and the experience I have acquired over the years, I can tell who is going to be a good soldier, who can respect the training we have given them; then I say this one goes and this doesn't, thinking always that the accession to the mountains is a prize that must be won by each one."

"How many people have passed through your hands since this school was created in September?" I asked Alfonso.

"We can't give the number exactly, but there have been hundreds; the majority are now already inside, in the combat zones."

The delivery of the weapons was carried out with solemnity. Almost all of them were Fal rifles made in Belgium. "This is a weapon built only for the war," explains the chief responsible for passing out the weapons to the future combatants. "It brings together all the advantages a weapon ought to have: it can fire bursts of 20 rounds and can fire single shots; it is a light automatic machine gun with the possibilities of firing bullets of 70mm caliber as well as launching grenades."

When I saw that they gave the women older rifles, I approached one of them: "Are there many women in the Front or would it be better to say that you are exceptions?"

"In '74 and '75 it was exceptional to see a woman in the ranks of the guerrillas, but today, no. There is an infinite number of women," she replied.

"Does machismo exist in the front?"

"No, here no one feels superior to anyone. And if, perhaps, there are people less conscious than others, they are obliged to rid themselves of the machismo."

"How is the machismo eliminated?"

"By sharing all that we have here."

"Then you receive the same treatment as a man?"

"Yes, because at this juncture we are equals...almost equal."

"Why do you say almost?"

"Perhaps out of consideration, less is put on us. Because of this, we are given lighter weapons, but I believe that at the hour of combat, very quickly we all share in what will come."

She picked up her rifle, not without a certain flirtatiousness, and returned to join her comrades who had already fallen into line at the smooth voice of the mili-

tary chief: "Attention! Present arms!"

They began the exercises of different combat formations. "We use the inverted cone when a concentrated fire is necessary, when we want to break a ring of the National Guard that is holding us," Alfonso explains. "Each exercise is accompanied by explanations and there is also time for questions. I looked in the face and the voice of the trainer for some of that aggressiveness that characterizes military people all over the world. "Here, we don't need to shout. Each person knows what is coming. Moreover, here you will find the understanding that each commander is a combatant and each combatant is a commander."

After four hours of training, everyone was exhausted. The officer of the day called them to the meal, where they distributed two slices of canned corned beef and a cup of coffee heated over a candle that produces no smoke; this was to avoid being detected by the National Guard. The plastic plates were not washed, because of the scarcity of water, but were wiped clean with the leaves of trees.

After a brief rest, the classes in loading and unloading the rifles and pistols were given. The recent arrivals got together in little groups around those who had more time in the school. They learned the names of each one of the pieces so that, in an emergency, it would be easier to obtain the replacement parts.

One of the girls was somewhat distracted and her comrades noted it immediately. "It's just that my boyfriend, who is also passing through this, cannot get rid of the habit of ordering me around, and here the only people who can give me orders are the commanders."

"How did you manage to get out of the house? Didn't your parents forbid you to go because it would be too dangerous?" I asked her.

"I didn't ask their permission. I simply left them a letter telling them that if they had struggled more when they were young I would not need to put my life in danger now," she told me.

"Are you afraid that they might kill you?"

"I was more afraid that they would grab me in the city."

Alfonso followed our conversation: "It's logical that here they aren't afraid



Leo Gabriel

because here there is not much danger. The exit from the city is more dangerous, because they are coming unarmed. A number of people have been killed just arching for contacts; it's nothing more than when they see some young people in a group, they think they are part of the Front and they machinegun them. For them, the biggest crime is to be young."

"And in combat, they are not afraid?" asked.

"Yes, they experience fear, above all when one gets caught in a bad situation, poorly armed; although perhaps in retreat when they feel the most fear, for that is certainly the most dangerous point: he who is afraid dies. To be afraid is like raising your hands when you should be firing at the enemy; he will take advantage of this and kill you. But if one is angry enough, one can look for the way to escape or the way to fight, and then one obliges the enemy to stop and halt his pursuit."

"All this depends on the quality of the military training, I suppose?"

"No, it is not necessary that a person is trained in the military arts to be a good combatant. To be a good combatant it's necessary to reach a high level of political consciousness that always takes you forward."

It surprised me to hear those words because they were coming not from a political intellectual but from a military chief of campesino extraction. "Explain this to me," I said, "because this appears to me a little like the holy spirit. When one is illuminated, one is kept from harm."

"When a combatant has a political conscience, he confronts situations and doesn't avoid them. The fall of a comrade pains a good combatant. They remember constantly that there are nameless children killed and compañeros in prison; this is exactly the difference between a mercenary who doesn't have an ideal, who fights only on secure territory and to whom others don't matter."

"You believe then, in a word, that the theory is more important than the practice?"

"It's that you would not be able to have practice without theory, because if we don't have theory now are we going to take the practice to a place with which we are unfamiliar? Anyone can be valiant but without any ideology, without an end, what can be accomplished?"

What was this theory of which Alfonso

so was speaking, what was it concretely? How was it to end the persecution of these girls and boys who in only two months had formed the largest revolutionary army in Latin America?

Were they guided by books, pamphlets or the voice of the commander?

I studied their serene faces. For the most part they were the faces of campesinos. I remembered a phrase of Uno's: "At the beginning, the student is better qualified because he or she comes in a simpler state of mind. But when the campesino understands the objectives to follow, then he becomes more effective in the guerrilla war than the student."

Reflecting on this, I watched as everyone got up in their olive green uniforms, with their pistols, their grenades in their belts, the Fal rifles at hand, and formed a line. They had begun the swearing in ceremony for the new recruits. The silence was absolute when Uno began to speak in a slow voice.

"We seem insignificant, but here in this little territory, we are transformed into new men, into human beings more developed in the meaning of being sensitive before the suffering of another human being. We are not looking at paunchy little children filled with worms; we are not looking at the abortion that the police made with a kick of their boots, the burned hut of the campesino. But having seen this before, we acquire each day a greater revolutionary consciousness. We are not so small as in the beginning, now we are an army. We will form a new mentality for the new generations, because we are playing with death...the life of many future generations."

To end the speech, everyone repeated an oath that ended with the words: "...I swear to fight with weapons at hand the redemption of the oppressed, for the exploited of Nicaragua and the world. If I complete this duty, the liberation of Nicaragua will be my prize. If I fail in this oath, opprobrious death and ignominy will be my punishment."

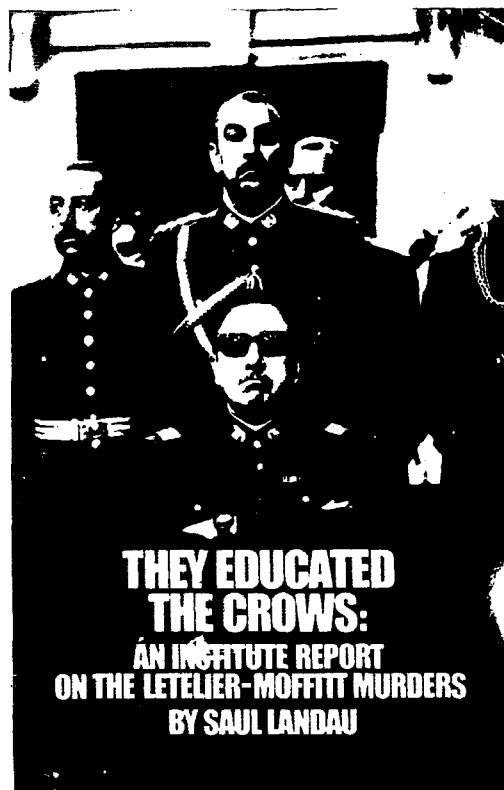
Then, in silence, each one of the Sandinistas approached a red and black flag to express what they were feeling at that moment. The words were simple. Joanna spoke:

"I feel the desire to fight, not only the dictatorship, but also capitalism. Because the struggle will not end with the fall of the dictator, but with the fall of all those who might be working against the interests of the people. We follow the path of

Agusto Cesar Sandino, the path that he left outlined for us years ago. I can sense that our triumph is close. I feel a high morale and a combative spirit, to be displayed in whatever moment the military chief gives the order to attack."

Already the silhouettes of the combatants could not be distinguished in the dusk. While the recruits were laying out the plastic shelters to sleep, we said goodbye before going back down to the city. "We will see you soon...in Managua." ■

The Institute's Two-Year Investigation of the Assassinations of Orlando Letelier & Ronni Karpen Moffitt



THEY EDUCATED THE CROWS:
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ON THE LETELIER-MOFFITT MURDERS
BY SAUL LANDAU

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MAY DAY

Government unites divided French left

By Diana Johnstone

P A R I S

DEFENSE OF THE RIGHT TO demonstrate was a main theme of this year's May Day in Paris. Interpreting this slogan in its own way, the government for the first time sent several hundred CRS riot police to march ahead of the labor parade. Riot police also closed the demonstration, in characteristic fashion—by attacking Trotskyist militants who were trying to protect the leftist tail of the march from provocative violence.

Between the armed police, some 30,000 working people marched through a cold rain, led by Communist Georges Seguy, head of the big CGT trade union confederation, and Edmond Maire, head of the rival CFDT. Last year, Maire stayed home in chagrin over the left's electoral defeat, which he blamed on Communist sectarianism. When Seguy chided him for his absence he retorted that it mattered less to miss a May Day parade than a rendezvous with history.

But this year Mairé braved the drizzle, alongside Seguy and the leader of the National Teachers Federation (FEN), Andre Henry, to show he shared their concern for recent threats to "democratic freedoms." Following rioting and window-smashing in the chic opera section of Paris at the end of the big CGT-sponsored steelworkers march last March 23, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing suggested limiting the right to demonstrate in urban centers. The CGT accused police infiltrators disguised as "autonomes," youths hostile to all traditional left organizations,

Socialists joined Communist trade unionists to march against the government's attack on the right to assemble. The police responded by attacking marchers at the rear.

of instigating riots as a pretext for repression. Since then, the government has pushed through a bill to limit political postering, on grounds of neatness, and another limiting the right of television employees to strike, on grounds of the public's right to its daily programming.

This added up to enough of a threat to induce the CFDT chief to make the annual spring walk down the Boulevard Voltaire, from Place de La Nation to Place de La Republique, next to Seguy. But this unity seemed sure to wilt as fast as the little bouquets of lily of the valley hawked on May Day by French fund-raisers of all stripes. Both the CGT and the CFDT want to fight the growing unemployment produced by industrial restructuring, but each is waging the fight with an eye to winning workers away from the other.

The CGT, bigger and better organized, keeps pressing "unity" on a reluctant CFDT, calling for big marches and mass



actions, often with an anti-Europe, protectionist flavor, intended to put pressure on the government. CFDT leaders reject this “political” approach as designed mainly to get votes for the French Communist party (PCF).

Instead, CFDT leaders seem to hope to use their contacts with the powerful West German trade union confederation DGB to get Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and President Giscard to slow down the restructuring of the French steel industry. The CFDT would like to be able to show it can get more for French workers through an internationalist strategy than the CGT can get through a nationalist one.

Of course, the CGT cannot hope for any favors from the anti-communist Germans as the CFDT can. Seguy, in late April, criticized the CFDT leadership for abandoning the strategy of united action with the CGT in favor of "a centralist conception of the union movement like that existing in certain neighboring countries such as West Germany." Getting in a gibe at the CFDT's long-standing slogan of worker "self-management," Seguy added that this conception "has little in common with the generous ideas of self-management to which French workers are so rightly attached."

The CFDT contingents in the May Day parade, marching after the CGT, raised the demand for a 35-hour work week, which is turning into the main slogan of the social democratic and socialist parties for the European parliamentary elections. This social democratic parentage, and the endorsement of Helmut Schmidt, is enough to make much of the left very wary. A number of French socialists are warning that the 35-hour week could distract attention from the need to figure out a more drastic overhaul of the organization of work.

The left-wing parties sent their second-ranking leaders for the march—Lionel Jospin for the Socialist party, Paul Laurent for the PCF.

The turnout was poor for a French May Day, with the exception of immigrant workers, mostly from Southern Europe and North Africa. "Greek and Turkish workers together," one group chanted. Kurdish workers made their first appearance.

"This sort of useless march isn't going to change things," complained an amiable young man in non-conformist dress getting wet watching it. He said he was an "Autonome." Asked what French

Autonomes wanted, he said they “wanted to be like Baader [of the Baader-Meinhof gang] but would never have the guts.” He was quite probably a police agent. If he wasn’t one, there were plenty of cops around.

The official "Autonomes" announced at a press conference ahead of time that while they had wanted to join the steelworkers last March 23, they would stay away from the May Day "funeral procession." "It's a trap to be avoided," the Autonomie spokesmen said.

The Autonomes are against traditional political actions "which don't change anything," and their own skirmishes with riot police at the end of other people's demonstrations are beginning to fit the description.

The CGT always forces the “gauchiste political groups to bring up the rear. The largest of these, the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), ... several thousand people grouped behind its banners calling for internationalist unity of European workers against the “capitalism” of the PCF, had a well-disciplined guard to protect the whole far left tail of the parade. As the march was breaking up, several dozen men in “autonomous” costumes (flea market outfits and scarves) started hurling beer bottles and rocks at the LCR guard which was protecting demonstrators as they crowded down into the Metro (subway). The Trotskyists surrounded the assailants, preventing them from attacking the CRS riot police. Shortly thereafter, the CRS charged the LCR marshals, who had done such a good job of keeping order, clubbing them down the Metro steps and seriously injuring three of them. With nobody attacking them, riot police charged in all directions, lobbing tear gas grenades into the Metro and whacking and arresting young people at random.

Otherwise, only the Eastern steel town of Longwy produced any of the violence heralded in advance by the government and the conservative press. About 100 CFTD activists, notoriously uncontrolled by their union leadership, decided to block arrival of a CRS unit and ended up besieging Longwy police headquarters for a couple of hours with fire bombs and other makeshift weapons.

Local CGT leaders, meanwhile, denounced "CFDT provocation" and called on workers to ignore the battle and join the town's May Day march, which is what most people in Longwy did. ■



"CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE NAME OF THE GAME, BUT YOU HAVE TO KNOW THE PLAYERS TO UNDERSTAND THE GAME AND THE REALITY THAT IT REFLECTS. THIS POSTER IS THE SIMPLEST AND CLEVEREST MEANS TO HELP EXPLAIN THE CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE U.S. TODAY. A MUST FOR ANY RADICAL TEACHER..."

— *Bertell Ollman, Marxist scholar and inventor of the "Class Struggle" game*

The Social Stratification poster is a graphic presentation of the U.S. population by income, occupation, family status, race and wealth. Much of this information is talked about in the media and classrooms. However, the series of numbers, percentages and median figures that are cited are confusing and near impossible to relate to one another. Our purpose is to overcome this comprehension problem by combining the data into a clear graphic format.

Making this information accessible is an important political project. The concept of "America as a middle class society" is widely used and politically charged. It conveys the image of a vast clump in the middle with few at the extremes of great wealth or poverty. Overcoming this illusion and making people confront differing social conditions and status is a crucial first step toward political awareness.

But there is another need for making this information accessible — the contemporary U.S. left has operated without a developed class analysis. Phrases such as “the industrial working class”, “aristocracy of labor”, and “new working class” have appeared and contended with one another without a clear presentation of the facts involved. One cause for this confusion has been the isolation of the left from the real conditions and concerns of most Americans. Hopefully, this poster will stimulate both further investigation and more focused political activity.

"THERE IS A CRIPPLING LACK OF INFORMATION NOT ONLY IN THE PUBLIC AT LARGE BUT AMONG STUDENTS OF ECONOMICS WITH REGARD TO SOME OF THE BASIC FACTS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THIS ATTRACTIVE POSTER GOES A LONG WAY TOWARD REMEDYING THAT DEFICIENCY. I AM HAPPY TO RECOMMEND IT WHOLE-HEARTEDLY AS A TEACHING ADJUNCT."

— *Robert Heilbroner*

The poster measures 35" x 45" and uses eight colors to represent occupation and labor force status. Different figures are used to portray husband/wife couples, single people, and single heads of household. Household figures show what each member does and are placed on the poster according to their 1978 annual income. An accompanying 40 page booklet gives the detailed methodological and statistical information.

The price is \$5.00 for the poster, and \$2.00 for the booklet; (each order should include \$1.00 for postage and handling). Bulk and institutional rates are available for classroom use, and the poster is also available as a mounted full-color transparency for overhead projectors. (The poster is very useful at the high school and introductory college levels.)

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Photos by John Judis

Perhaps a great notion.

Hayden dreams of a new society emerging from his Campaign for Economic Democracy. Has he had a vision of the future, or is it only a pipedream?

By John Judis

LOS ANGELES

IN EARLY 1969, WHEN I WAS A graduate student at the University of California in Santa Cruz, Tom Hayden came down to speak at a rally. Clad in a blue workshirt and jeans, he spoke of guns, guerrillas, and a growing revolutionary movement in the U.S. Later, when he met with our SDS chapter, one undergraduate asked him what he should do after he graduated. "Learn Spanish, how to repair cars, and how to shoot a gun," Hayden replied.

In the 1962 Port Huron Statement, Hayden had articulated the fledgling New Left's fondest and most respectable dreams. In the late '60s, playing the part of an American Che, he was part of the whirlwind that destroyed it. But unlike Mark Rudd or Rennie Davis or Bob Avakian, Hayden didn't simply go deeper into the whirlwind or eventually give up politics altogether. Along with Jane Fonda, he took up lobbying and speaking for the Indochina Peace Campaign. After Saigon fell, he decided to run for the U.S. Senate in California. He claimed he would show that the "radicalism of the '60s had become the common sense of the '70s."

Much to the surprise of California leftists, Hayden got over a million votes, and laid the foundation for a left-wing organization in California, the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED).

Along with socialist organizations like the New American Movement and multi-issue "people's organizations" like ACORN and Massachusetts Fair Share, CED is an attempt to glean what was most positive about the New Left and apply it to the changed conditions of the '70s. In several ways, Hayden's organization is the most politically ambitious and controversial of these attempts. Unlike the openly socialist organizations, CED has a popular following and visible influence on state politics; unlike most multi-issue organizations, CED focuses on winning political office. Like the socialist organizations, and unlike the multi-issue organizations, CED is consciously ideological—its program for economic democracy is conceived as an alternative to a discredited and decrepit New Deal liberalism.

In two years, CED has helped get Gov. Jerry Brown to back solar and to oppose nuclear energy, and it has helped get eight solar bills through the California legislature. After some early losses, it has recently won four local elections. It is a leader of the current rent control battle (*JTT*, Apr. 25). And it enjoys more influence with the governor than most liberal Democrats do.

CED has 5,000 dues-paying members, including Berkeley mayor-elect Gus Newport and United Farm Workers' leader Cesar Chavez. And it has brought together in one organization such unlikely comrades as former Black Panther David Hilliard and former leaders of Ron Karenga's US, Greg Akili and Ken Msemaji.

"CED represents the best opportunity for a left progressive movement," Msemaji told me during an interview in the San Diego office of NIA. "I think the position of CED is as radical as you can be today and still function."

But CED and Hayden have also created a legion of critics and enemies, particularly within the California left. Part of the enmity is undoubtedly personal. "Tom has a capacity for creating enemies, especially on a one-to-one basis," a friend of Hayden's explained. But a good part is political.

Derek Shearer, who helped develop the concept of economic democracy, believes it has lost its relevance to CED's work. "They don't use the program. There is little content for it in CED," Shearer said.

Shearer also doubts that CED has contributed much to California's "progressive agenda" that wouldn't have been there anyway. "The question is what has CED done that it has initiated," he said. "Solar-Cal perhaps. But is it really a left issue?"

"CED is a cult of personality," California Democratic Council (CDC) president Wallace Albertson said. "It has no membership to speak of."

Hayden and CED's relations with Jerry Brown are also a focus of much distrust. "CED as an organization is a good step, but the relation between Hayden and Brown is destructive to their credibility," Lenny Goldberg, longtime Berkeley activist and aide to Assemblyman Tom Bates, said.

New Left roots.

CED and the Hayden Senate campaign have been attempts to draw on the heritage of the New Left, but to do so in a way that would distinguish CED and Hayden from the wreckage of Weathermen, Yippies, Zippies, and the Symbionese Liberation Army, and also keep the organization itself free of the sectarian debates that have destroyed much of the socialist left. As a result, CED leaders consciously avoid left-wing terminology, and they discuss the roots of CED in the New Left with all the candor of politicians discussing their private lives or personal failings.

Both CED's electoral strategy and its concept of economic democracy reflected the work of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies. The Conference was founded in the early '70s by New Left veterans who believed that the next step would be local and state electoral and legislative battles around programs that embodied a progressive or a socialist alternative. Conference members like Derek Shearer were especially interested in Canadian and West European experiments in public enterprise and workers' control.

Shearer, along with professors G. William Domhoff and Richard Flacks, wrote the Hayden campaign platform, "Let's Make the Future Ours," that introduced the idea of economic democracy and laid out such programs as state banks, municipally-owned utilities, a national health service, and worker control of plant health and safety.

"Terms like socialism and capitalism don't have any currency in America," Shearer said. "So economic democracy was, in one respect, a euphemism for democratic socialism. But it was also a way of going beyond the usual idea of socialism to one that included workers' control and consumers on corporate boards."

Continued on next page.



CED



Left: Jane Dolan was recently elected a Butte County Supervisor.

Tom Hayden and the Campaign for Economic Democracy have established a presence in towns where no left-winger or liberal Democrat had any luck, but they have also sowed distrust among the left by their close relation to Gov. Jerry Brown.

Continued from previous page.

The other principal influence on CED was the experience of the Indochina Peace Campaign (IPC), which Hayden and Jane Fonda organized in the early '70s as a lobby against the war. Shari Lawson, an IPC member who is now head of CED's Organizer Training Institute, explained to me how the IPC experience led to CED.

"I was a '60s radical," Lawson said. "In 1972, I changed my political view. I realized protest could only go so far. The concrete way my view changed is that I realized you had to get Congress to end the war. You might even have to meet with some of these people."

When Saigon finally fell in 1975, IPC members looked around for new activity. "Running candidates for office seemed like a logical extension of IPC's congressional strategy," Lawson said.

"We had this view that Vietnam was the focal point for all the contradictions of world capitalism, imperialism, and communism," Lawson said. "After Saigon fell, people asked where the next focal point was."

Lawson traces the concept of economic democracy to this debate. "The idea of economic democracy wasn't very complicated," she said. "It was based on an understanding that we probably wouldn't be involved in a war, that the priorities would be domestic, and that economic issues would be more important."

Many IPC members had thought of themselves as radicals or as socialists. One CED member close to Lawson, Hayden and other IPCers in CED confided that the CED leadership still sees themselves as committed revolutionaries building a party that will take power. Unlike Shearer, Domhoff of Flacks, they did not and do not see economic democracy as a euphemism for socialism. Instead, they see it as a more limited transitional concept, a tactical slogan as much as a defined goal.

One political scientist who worked closely on the campaign described the IPC cadre as "Ho-ists," after Ho Chi Minh. According to him, they believed that the American revolution, like the Vietnamese revolution, would develop in stages with the struggle for economic democracy an early stage. They saw themselves as leadership cadre, with their own common but private blueprint for eventual revolution, who would provide guidance through the different stages.

If this picture is accurate, the IPCers were similar to those Portuguese lieutenants who learned their politics in Mozambique or Angola. But in another way, they were also carrying on, with a little of the New Left and California thrown in, a style of "popular front politics" that started with the Communist party in 1934. The main difference was the unlike the Communist party they were an informal circle of individuals.

Probably the main danger of Ho-ism or Popular Front Politics, which became apparent to some Communists in the '50s, is that it can give either the party or the organization's leadership an illusion of historical accomplishment. It allows them to imagine that the successes of the organization—or of its leaders—are victories for the ultimate cause, regardless

of whether there is any real connection between them.

Young, white and college-educated.

CED's yearly budget is about \$300,000, with 21 paid staff and several affiliated organizations like the California Public Policy Center and Los Angeles Working Women. About 60 percent of its budget comes from Jane Fonda's fundraising and from personal appearances and concerts by Hollywood celebrities who, except for Fonda's connection, might not be interested. Last Halloween, for instance, CED had a disco dance contest, \$12.50 at the door, at which such luminaries as Cher, Mark Hamill, Cheryl Ladd and Kristy McNichol served as judges.

Its structure is centralized, with a steering committee drawn from chapters and affiliated organizations that elects the state leadership. There have been no public conventions.

Its state headquarters are on the top floor of the prestigious Bradbury building in downtown Los Angeles, where Raymond Chandler's Philip Marlowe had his offices. Staff director Sam Hurst, who met Hayden in 1972 when he was an undergraduate anti-war protester at the University of Southern California and who subsequently joined IPC, presides over the state offices.

Hurst estimates that 400 of CED's 5,000 members are "activists," which he defines as members "prepared to travel for the organization." The weekend I spoke to him, Hurst explained, several hundred CED members would be travelling to Berkeley and Santa Monica to do precinct work for upcoming elections.

Unlike ACORN and Massachusetts Fair Share, which have cultivated large numbers of middle-aged or senior citizen activists with no previous left background, most of CED's activists are young, white and college-educated. They grew up in the tail of the anti-war movement and the beginnings of the anti-nuclear movement, which in California is a genuine mass movement. Hurst, acknowledges this, but he maintains that CED is trying to broaden its membership—a Chicano staffer is organizing a chapter in West Los Angeles and David Hilliard has been hired to work in South Los Angeles. He also argues that CED's membership unavoidably reflects its emphasis on programs rather than constituencies.

"When we began CED," he said, "most of what we saw were constituency organizations like Massachusetts Fair Share. To the extent you work with constituencies, you cut a lot of corners around programs. We wanted to develop an aggressive programmatic role."

CED chapter growth is spotty around the state. San Diego, with 300 members, 30 activists, an office and a paid full-time organizer, is probably the strongest chapter. Los Angeles and its environs have also been able to prosper from the proximity to Hayden, Fonda and the other state leaders.

In the Bay Area CED is weak. "They simply don't have a presence in San Francisco," housing activist Chester Hartman said. When I asked prominent San Francisco black publisher and leftist Dr. Carleton Goodlett about CED, he didn't know

what it was. In Berkeley, CED is effective but subordinate part of Citizens Action (BCA), and in they are nonexistent.

But in areas like Chico, San Diego, and Butte County, where neither a strong left nor Democratic tradition has existed, CED has prospered. For instance, in the agricultural Yolo County, west of Sacramento, CED has elected a county clerk and has chapters, a predominantly student in the college town of Davis, a Chicano chapter in the Central Valley, and a local CED leader, Larry Woodland. Local CED leader Larry Woodland, another IPC veteran, attributed their success to "working on local issues and building a grassroots movement opposed to building a flashy media organization."

Focus on elections.

Chapter life is riveted around running and what to support. As through San Diego, the chapters are cussing whether to run Theodore Tilton, a young social worker, for city council in Chico was in the midst of a city race in which the CED candidate, who had the BCA slate, Hayward was running whether to run someone for city council, and El Monte (East Los Angeles) gathering signatures for a rent control initiative.

CED's focus on elections and its willingness to contest Democratic primaries lifted the California left out of a long slumber. CED also brought a new financial base and a professionalism to local work.

But like other organizations that have focused on winning elections, CED has a constant temptation to subordinate overall political programs to immediate victories.

CED's first major efforts were in state assembly races in Santa Monica and Berkeley. Although it poured thousands of dollars into the races and CED members assiduously took to the streets, the CED candidates outperformed by liberal Democratic opponents.

CED's subsequent successes have been in smaller, semi-rural counties where right-wing Republicans have been their opponents. Besides the election of Peter McNamee as county clerk in Butte County, CED has elected a county supervisor in neighboring Butte County and has won city council seats in Chico and Yuba.

"The reason we've been successful in small counties is that it takes less money to run CED political director Mike Diehl."

Interviewing candidates and looking at their literature, I discovered that I had not run as CED candidates. I was running as a person from Chico, a Butte County Supervisor Jane Dolan.

There was no mention of CED in the literature or of economic democracy in the literature. Bakersfield candidate Means' literature read: "John Means take us seriously when we say 'no unnecessary taxes.'"

Dieden acknowledged that the



Middle: Greg Akili (left) and Ron Msemaji run NIA (Swahili for "purpose") in San Diego. Right: Theo Wilner is considering running for city council in San Diego.



program was not emphasized in these races. "The main thing is winning," he said. "The way to make changes is not to run an educational campaign espousing nationalizing the railroads or something like that, but to elect people at the local level and show what it is like to have an alternative person."

According to Diden, Means and Dolan would prove themselves by fighting for solar energy, rent control, or against unfair taxes.

This sets up a classic political dilemma, where a candidate elected by a largely conservative (or at least non-left) electorate must choose between the wishes of his or her cohorts (the local CEDers in this case) and the wishes of the voters. As an electoral strategy, "the main thing

is winning" merely postpones until the day after the election the problem of how to build a left movement.

As CED grows, this could push it toward becoming a transmission belt for ambitious local politicians. Or, with loyal and judicious office holders it could also lead to the gradual acceptance of CED and its program in places like Bakersfield.

A stagnant pond.

CED has an office and a lobbyist in Sacramento. During its first two years, CED's main statewide priority was Solar Cal, a program devised by ex-IPCer Fred Branfman. Branfman saw solar energy as an issue that embodied CED's emphasis on economic democracy. Because it can be produced under small-scale, de-

centralized conditions, it runs counter to utility industry interests. "You can't get the power structure involved," Branfman said. "You have to call for changing economic arrangements."

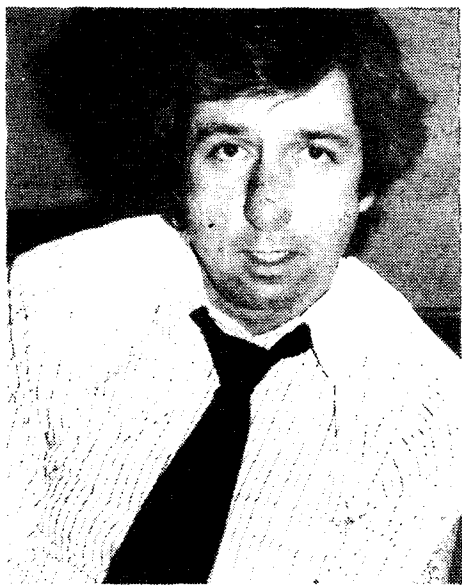
Solar Cal was also a good issue because CED could lead the fight for it. "We wanted to seize the initiative on a key issue that we could win," Branfman explained.

CED has also had an impact on state politics through its continuing war on liberalism. Several liberal Democrats that I interviewed shoved articles about CED under my nose that were intended to demonstrate Hayden's and CED's utter depravity. I discovered, upon reading them, that they contained analyses of the current liberal impasse, with which I agreed.

I was told, for instance, that CED had really supported Proposition 13, but I discovered upon reading Hayden's pre- and post-Prop. 13 analysis that CED had consistently opposed it. What Hayden had pointed out was that its victory was a "populist rebellion against the failure of political liberalism." He termed Howard Jarvis "a great toad risen from the stagnant pond of liberalism."

I was also given reports of an "outrageous" speech Hayden gave to a March CDC meeting. Again, the message turned out to be compelling. "If liberalism has relied on the trickle-down from economic growth and that growth is now being curtailed," Hayden said at the CDC meeting, "then liberalism must begin to re-

Continued on next page.



You and Jane Fonda and several other CED members have recently been appointed by Gov. Jerry Brown to state offices. How do you assess the relationship between CED and Brown?

Strained.

How could that be?

Well, because we are operating in a context that few of us have operated in before—that is, having some power. We have some power in state government over public policy, and at the same time we are trying not to get swallowed up in it but to use it to build a stronger grassroots base. And we are trying to achieve some things with that power without having an obligation to Brown.

Is that true? Are you under no obligation to Brown?

We tell him that. Some may not believe it. It is an unusual situation, where somebody who is a gubernatorial appointee is able to say things that directly contradict what the governor says. I even led a march against the [liquid natural gas] plant at Point Conception which Jerry Brown is pushing for.

It's made more complicated by his position on the balanced budget, which is either rejected by most CED people or has thrown them into tremendous confusion or has put them into a real pickle with their liberal friends, who abuse them when they go home at night.

What about Brown's inaugural address—his call for a constitutional convention and a balanced budget? Do you see him as moving to the right?

I am speaking for myself, because there are so many opinions in CED. No, I think Brown's famous opportunism is usually grounded in some historical reality. He is the messenger of some new reality, even though he doesn't happen to have the solution.

Take the Plymouth. [Brown has used a Plymouth instead of the Governor's limousine since taking office.] It is very easy for people to say that the Plymouth is a gimmick. If the same people were governor of California, I bet a lot of them would have stayed in the limousine—or at least they might have thought that jumping in a Plymouth was a little flaky. So at the moment he jumped in a Plymouth it was not opportunism. It was risky. It was unorthodox.

The point is that he is onto something—the era of limits, America's inability to grow through the usual mechanisms. I think it is the same with the balanced budget. His position is a heresy, and anybody who is heretic to whatever tradition it is becomes the object of an insane, hysterical level of argumentative discussion.

It's opportunistic in the sense that it gets him an enormous amount of mileage with the voters in this country, but there is also the risk of losing all liberal support, which he needs, and he is doing it anyway. So I don't think it is entirely opportunistic.

Do you agree with Brown's call for a balanced budget?

He is onto a reality, but the balanced budget is not the solution. The issue behind it that the left ought to address is inflation and government spending. If you ask a person of the left about these two subjects, you will find that the left is somewhat out of date, clinging to an earlier period.

The two main categories in the federal budget are military spending and welfare. So it is like there is nothing productive in the budget. It is just going up, and it is inherently inflationary. Military spending is inherently inflationary, and so is welfare spending without creating jobs.

Social security is tied to cost of living increases. The liberal program is indexing, cost of living adjustments, which comes from a heartfelt compassion, but is no longer appropriate. You have to fight the corporate power to set prices,

to bring inflation down, not have a liberal program that simply attaches everybody's income to the tiger of inflation under the assumption that it will go away.

Do you know what the third largest item in the federal budget is? Interest on the federal debt. Twelve percent of this year's budget is to pay off the banking consortium interest on debt.

The solution is not a balanced budget, but the solution is certainly not an unbalanced budget. Brown's problem is that he only wants to deal with the government budget. I think I am safe in saying for all of CED that we would like him to deal with the private sector's budget.

You haven't mentioned the specifics of Brown's budget, particularly his refusal to keep welfare payments in line with the cost of living. Some of your critics claim that you are not willing to fight Brown on this kind of nitty-gritty issue.

I personally think the budget should not be balanced on the backs of the poor. Everybody in CED feels that Brown should not be holding down cost of living increases for welfare.

But you haven't gone after him on that?

That hasn't been our thrust. Historically, we haven't been involved in battles over how much welfare spending there should be. I've never heard anybody in CED say that welfare costs should be kept down. I assume everybody thinks that is a reactionary way of balancing the budget.

The chicken liberals have no answer to what to do about welfare. They aren't even willing to increase welfare. After they are done castigating Brown, then let's start castigating them. Because you can't go on with a liberalism whose big program is CETA.

But getting back to your opinion of Brown—if it is reactionary to balance the budget by cutting welfare, doesn't that indicate that Brown is moving to the right?

I think in the world of existing political categories, it definitely means a move to the right, and also in the world of practical politics. But was Nixon going to the left when he went to China? Was that moving to the left? Or was Nixon still Nixon? My assessment, which is not necessarily CED's, is that Brown is still

Continued on next page.

CED

Continued from previous page.

examine its marriage to the very machinery of that growth itself—the machinery of expansionary corporate capitalism.”

But the feelings of some liberal Democrats and labor officials toward CED are colored by another aspect of CED's statewide activity—its relation to Jerry Brown.

Tom and Jerry.

Jerry Brown became California's governor in 1974 on the strength of his family name and his support of election reform. As governor, he has acted little different from the way his liberal Democratic father might have: he has helped public workers and farm workers win union recognition; he has appointed blacks, women, and Chicanos to the judiciary; and he has kept the corporate-related commissions (bank, insurance) and the state finance director's job in the hands of well-heeled businessmen, including some ex-Reaganites.

Brown's distinctive contribution has been in the world of image-making and ideologizing—with his Zen retreat, his era of limits, his eccentric hours, his avoidance of pomp and, most recently, his espousal of “Con Con II,” the constitutional convention for ratifying an amendment to balance the budget.

As he prepares to take on Jimmy Carter for the presidency, Brown is trying to capture the constituency to Carter's right rather than his left. His campaign for Con Con II has been waged with Coolidgean rhetoric; and in his proposal for a 1980 California budget, he singled out welfare spending for cuts. That has infuriated both liberal Democrats and labor.

Meanwhile, CED and Brown have grown increasingly close. In 1977, the CED newspaper criticized Brown's corporate ties, his support for liquid natural gas, and his dallying with tax reform. In December 1977, Hayden endorsed Brown for re-election, with CED following suit soon afterwards.

In the past year, there have been few criticisms of Brown in CED's paper. This January, the CED steering committee decided to frame its response to Con Con II in terms of a “concern” for its possible statements. CED attacked neither Brown's specific rationale for Con Con II nor his 1980 budget.

Several key CED leaders that I interviewed expressed real affinity for Brown. Don Villarejo thought that Brown's attacks on liberalism had a “potential radical thrust.” Ken Msemaji declared that “if we look at California and all the governors who've ever been, Jerry Brown is clearly different from any of them, and more accessible.”

Brown, for his part, came out in favor of Solar Cal in the fall of 1977 and recently endorsed CED's tenants bill of rights. He appointed CED members to the state Solar Cal Commission, Western SUN (the regional body that oversees federal solar funds), the state housing task force, and to a vacancy on the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors. The week after CED announced its stand on Con Con II, Brown appointed Jane Fonda to the California Arts Council and Tom Hayden to the Southwest Border Commission. For Hayden to serve on this commission, Brown had to make him a member of his administration by appointing him a “special counsel.”

Dropping bones.

There are two different interpretations of the Brown-CED relationship. One is offered by CED leaders, who deny that they have made any deals with Brown to soften their criticism of him in exchange for appointments. “Brown has very little confidence in liberals,” Mike Dieden said. “Brown likes CED because we are not liberals. If he goes for president, we have convinced him he should leave CED in a strong position.”

Dieden and other CED leaders defend

their position on Con Con as a cautious approach to a proposal that has great popular support. Rather than simply rejecting it outright, CED is preparing to organize support for a left-wing constitutional amendment for a full employment balanced budget.

California labor officials, liberal Democrats and leftists are convinced that Hayden has been making deals with Brown in order to enhance his and CED's power. They charge that Hayden traded his support of Brown's re-election for Brown's support of Con Con II and for continued appointments. According to Alameda County AFL-CIO head Dick Groulx, CED's stance showed that “even flaming liberals can be bought.”

One former Brown aide did remember a conversation in which Brown's energy chief Wilson Clark confirmed that a deal had been made on Solar Cal, but most everything people cited was circumstantial: the proximity between CED's Con Con II decision and the Hayden-Fonda appointments and the way in which the CED Con Con statement avoided any mention of Brown.

According to one report of the Jan. 27-28 Steering Committee meeting, Hayden did argue there that “CED needs Brown, Brown needs CED.” He cited past Brown appointments and support for CED proposals, and he told Steering Committee members that “CED could anticipate further appointments.” In opposition to Hayden, Bob Brownstein from San Jose called for CED to break with Brown, and, with the support of Service Employees International Union representative Pat Jackson, he advocated an outright rejection of Con Con II.

The Steering Committee voted overwhelmingly not to break with Brown, but they were split down the middle on Con Con II, and Hayden had to break the tie in favor of the expression of concern.

Brownstein said that the expectation of appointments was a factor in the decisions. When I asked Berkeley Steering Committee representative Andy Spahn why CED had not broken with Brown, his response lent further weight to this interpretation. “He drops us a lot of bones,” Spahn said.

Therefore, there is reason to believe that at least an expectation of appointments and a desire not to forego them played a role in CED's decision. Whether Hayden personally made a deal with Brown to swing the vote cannot be determined.

There is nothing wrong, however, with deals *per se*. The question is whether a particular deal benefits or hinders the development of the left. If Hayden did trade Solar Cal for an election endorsement, CED and Hayden probably made a reasonable exchange. By supporting Solar Cal and opposing nuclear energy, Brown altered his stance on an important issue. And CED would probably have endorsed Brown anyway in a contest with Evelle Younger.

But CED's response to Brown's Con Con II proposal and his 1980 budget cannot be so easily justified. At best, it is based on a naive view of Brown as a crypto-radical. At worst, it involves deliberately avoiding an attack on Brown at the very moment when he is currying favor with conservatives and building ties with them rather than labor and the rest of the left.

There is also an important difference between trading programs and trading appointments. Brown's support for Solar Cal benefits the left, not to mention the human race. His appointment of CED members to advisory bodies helps CED, the individuals who are appointed, Brown himself, but not necessarily the left or anyone else.

If Hayden and the CED leadership are indeed trading appointments for political support, they are uncritically equating their own and the organization's advancement with the advancement of the left.

Hayden is critical.

But Hayden and CED cannot be written off on the basis of alleged deals with Brown. In California, where the particular generational and occupational pressures that helped create the New Left were always strongest and have not diminished, they have drawn a new genera-

tion of white middle-class young people into political activity.

Before I left California, I went to visit Bob Brownstein in San Jose. Brownstein had a reputation as the CED dissenter, and several other disenchanted CED members told me that he might already have quit CED in disgust.

Brownstein is in his early '30s, another New Left survivor. He is the aide to San Jose Supervisor Susanne Wilson, who CED helped elect last fall.

Brownstein was adamant about his chapter's position on Brown. “This chapter is against everything Brown is doing,” he said. “Our feeling is that Brown can form a consensus antithetical to economic democracy.”

He was critical of CED's centralized structure, and thought that CED hadn't yet made economic democracy a viable concept. “We're still on the seat of our pants about defining what economic democracy means in California,” he said.

But much to my surprise, Brownstein was very positive about CED and Hayden. “Hayden's role is critical,” he said. “The organization never would have started without him and it would have trouble staying together if he left, regardless of

the money he and Fonda contribute.”

Brownstein doubted that CED's rank-and-file would allow it to be drawn into a Brown-for-president bid. And he very much supported the speaking tour that CED had organized for the fall in the Midwest and Northeast to promote its program of economic democracy. This tour included, he noted, Kennedy backers like William Winpisinger.

Brownstein took a local view of CED's ultimate value. “There never was anything like this in San Jose,” he said. “Even the Democratic club was pretty conservative. CED brought together all these activists without portfolio that were floating around. Now we have about 25 people who come to chapter meetings and 100 members, and we have begun to affect policy in San Jose.”

I had heard this before in my travels—from Don Villarejo in Davis and from Dan Martin and Theo Wilner in San Diego. CED is real, they were saying, whatever the machinations of Brown and Hayden. Its achievement to date has been to reassemble a left in California on behalf of an idea, however vague, that is an alternative to 40 years of corporate liberalism. ■

TOM

Continued from previous page.

Brown, and what he is doing is only part of a larger realignment in the world. Rather than focus abuse on Brown, liberals should calmly assess what has gone wrong with liberalism.

Liberalism was based on the expanding prosperity of the corporate system, which allowed your government liberals to pay for welfare simply out of rising income. Between 1968 and 1973, the U.S. role as policeman was destroyed. But much more important, the U.S. role as supreme banker was destroyed. And that has meant that liberalism can no longer finance its social programs out of growth.

Liberals have to realize that they can't achieve their goals like full employment without attacking corporate power. The realignment of the unions, the development of the Progressive Alliance, Jerry Brown, CED's development—it is all a reflection of the crumbling of the liberal order. Proposition 13 fits in there, too, as an over-reaction against liberal government.

Do you prefer Brown for president to Kennedy and Carter?

Brown is more onto the reality [of liberalism's crisis] than the others, but his solution is not a good one. Kennedy is less onto the reality, but his solutions are more humane and consistently liberal. Carter is not onto the reality, and he has had his chance.

I don't think CED has to take a position on Jerry Brown or Teddy Kennedy until next year. We don't intend to be torn apart over the question.

In your 1976 Senate campaign, you made economic democracy your alternative to liberalism. Economic democracy is central to CED's program. To what extent is economic democracy a euphemism for “democratic socialism”?

What I meant was not a euphemism but a genuine concept. If you are a democratic socialist, you could think it was a euphemism. My own feeling [at the time of the campaign] was that the focus ought to be economics and energy. There were civil rights and women's rights and gay rights and peace groups whose focuses we shared, but a left focus on the economy and energy was missing.

The problem with the economy and energy is the power of the multinationals over government, public policy, and the media. If you want to challenge their power, you have to find a way to bring them under control. And the best way to do that is on the basis of the most viable progressive tradition we have in the U.S.—that of democracy. You have to take democracy a step farther from the

political sphere to the economic sphere, where the decisions are made about high prices, unemployment, pollution, and overseas investment.

I think we have been successful in getting a lot of people to understand that CED is against big corporations. But CED does not have an answer to how you control them and what is the mix [of public and private control]. The pragmatic reason for this is that we haven't come to the point where we can conceive of having the power to do so. Do you nationalize the oil companies? My thinking is certainly in that direction. On the other hand, I don't like big government nationalization in the Western European style, because it is bureaucratic, it doesn't guarantee worker participation in decisions, and it doesn't even guarantee that the products and the effect on the environment will be good.

In CED, we range from people who believe the answer is to nationalize to people who have a “small is beautiful” concept that includes a major role for private property, say, in farming. My general approach is democracy in a commanding role in the corporations? How do you put voters and neighborhood people in a commanding role in government. I am against the combination of big business and big government.

You and Jane Fonda have contributed—directly or indirectly—the bulk of CED's finances. The steering committee meetings take place on your property. Do you think this gives you an inordinate amount of power in CED?

No, I don't know what inordinate means.

Do you think the organization could really be called democratic in view of your financial power?

Organizations have their strangeness. There are no prescribed formulas. If there were, there would be a left. There is nothing going on in America that resembles a left electoral presence except CED. That's where you start from. You don't throw away the original source of it on theoretical grounds. What you do is try to figure out what the relationship is between Hayden and Fonda money—a lot of it comes from concerts—and an organization that wants to be grassroots.

The solution is developing a grassroots organization with power. Many of the people who have been saying it is a Hayden-Fonda organization have been saying this since it was just a Hayden-Fonda organization. They don't even take note of the development of a steering committee or organizer-training. I think events will show over the next ten years that we'll grow and we'll have a great deal of internal vitality and debate. We have to if we are going to win. People won't spend four days in Santa Monica pounding the streets for rent control and Ruth Yanatta and Bill Jennings if they are part of an organization that treats them like nothing. ■

EDITORIAL



Black face, white rule in Rhodesia

The situation in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) is building toward a deepening of tragic conflict and another foreign policy debacle for the U.S.

In modern times few societies have established nationhood without civil war—not the U.S., Britain, France, Mexico, the Soviet Union or China (to name only some of the bigger nations). If Zimbabwe were to avoid that bloody travail, something far better than last month's rigged elections would have been necessary.

The elections were doomed (or devised) to be a cruel hoax long before they were held. Martial law, coerced voting, the exclusion of two of the major black political forces, were only the inevitable accompaniments, not the source, of the hoax. The source resided in those conditions leading to the "Constitution" adopted last January exclusively by the white minority who comprise less than 4 percent of the population of over 6 million. The black 96 percent of the population had no say in its framing or adoption.

The "Constitution"—or, more accurately, the *diktat*—so predetermined the outcome that the elections could be considered neither "free" nor a step toward majority rule. Quite the contrary: its purpose was to spread an electoral veneer over the perpetuation of minority rule; or, to put a black face on the white seat of power. The transparency is so thin as barely to deceive the blind.

"One white-two votes" is the great principle of this "Constitution." Each white voter is entitled to vote for a black seat and a white seat in parliament. Whatever the vote, Ian D. Smith's white party is guaranteed 28 of the 100 seats—which translates proportionally into one white-seven votes. That is comparable to giving the top 4 percent wealth holders in the U.S. 28 seats in the Senate and 122 in the House, and giving them as well an absolute veto power over legislation, since the "Constitution" requires a 78 percent parliamentary majority for the passage of laws. The whites are reserved one-fourth of the Cabinet posts—and the most crucial ones, those controlling the entire state apparatus of coercion and patronage: the military, the police, the

courts, and the civil service. (ITT, May 2.)

As a plan for parliamentary feudalism the "Constitution" might be admired as an ingenious innovation, even a bold advance over Magna Carta. Whatever it is, it is not a framework for political democracy and popular sovereignty.

Last month's elections rubber-stamped continued white minority rule and the economic control that depends on it. No serious, self-respecting nationalist movement dedicated to majority rule and social justice could have participated in such elections. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson laughed at incomparably more liberal terms offered by King George III and the British parliament—and went to war.

It is no surprise that the Patriotic Front led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo did not choose to participate. It was, of course, Smith's intention that it could not participate without loss of credibility, not to mention survival as a democratic national movement. Observers did express surprise that there was little interference with the elections from the Front. If that were a deliberate decision of the Front's leadership, a more effective response could not have been devised in the circumstances: the elections could be no more effectively discredited than simply by being held and placing the meaning of the "Constitution" in full view of world opinion.

Though nominally Prime Minister in the "new" government, Bishop Abel Muzorewa will be the ward of Ian Smith, and Rhodesia (like Namibia) will become, more and more, a dominion of South Africa. The civil war will go on and intensify. Front-line African states like Botswana, Mozambique, and Zambia, and other African states like Nigeria and Tanzania, will be drawn more deeply into the conflict. They will want to know of the U.S., "Which side are you on?"—the side of majority rule and social change or the side of South Africa, white colonial rule, and apartheid?

The stage, then, is set for another debacle in U.S. foreign policy—with the U.S. sliding into alignment, once again, with the forces of racial oppression, privi-

lege, and colonialism.

Though the Carter administration did, to its credit, achieve restoration of the UN-mandated sanctions against Rhodesia previously lifted under Nixon, it has otherwise largely slipped the Salisbury-Pretoria albatross around its own neck. It has done so by temporizing with those racist regimes and, in hopes of support on other issues, appeasing their conservative allies in the U.S. Congress. The latter, in turn, may succeed in forcing Carter's hand by getting Congress to revoke the sanctions in "response" to the elections, which in the meantime the UN has declared null and void.

As Harvard University political scientist Stanley Hoffman (possibly angling for Zbigniew Brzezinski's job in a Kennedy administration) put it in a recent issue of *Foreign Affairs*, "It is not the black 'radicals' or the front-line African states...which form our main problem, but rather the governments of South Africa and Rhodesia." True, the Carter administration refused formally to endorse the white Rhodesians' "internal settlement," noted Hoffman, but it "refrained from pressuring them too vigorously...to keep open the possibility of their agreement to the very policies they oppose"; with the result that they "can pursue their own course with impunity, or that, should this pursuit lead to an escalation of guerrilla war with Soviet support, we might end up coming to their rescue."

This last goes to the heart of the darkness of U.S. foreign policy. With roots still firmly embedded in Cold War dogmas, and stretching back to Woodrow Wilson, Carter's foreign policy centers upon "containing" both Soviet power and social change considered dangerous to multinational capitalism. That the two went hand in hand has been a long-honored dogma, however much events, as in Cuba, Vietnam, Iran, and now in southern Africa, break in to contradict it. Actively or tacitly supporting anti-Soviet, pro-capitalist regimes against popular forces for social change, has over and over again facilitated the spread of Soviet influence. (By their own behavior toward other countries the Soviets have

done more to curb the spread of their influence than all the U.S. containment efforts put together.)

Carter's impending foreign policy debacle in southern Africa (and in black Africa generally) flows from the contradiction between opposing Soviet power and opposing social change. His policy has drawn back from vigorous support for genuine majority rule in southern Africa out of reluctance to bring down racist minority regimes that are bastions of anti-Sovietism and multinational capitalism. No matter that it only helps widen Soviet influence in Africa. In the final analysis, "containment" of social revolution takes precedence over "containment" of Soviet power, in U.S. foreign policy. It is, at any rate, becoming more and more difficult to have it both ways.

A practical foreign policy suited to extending friendly ties between Americans and foreign peoples would have to move away from both dogmatic anti-Sovietism and devotion to an international capitalist *status quo*. It might then also engage in a creative nourishment of détente: The U.S. could cooperate with the Soviet Union, with Cuba, perhaps too with China (and most members of the UN), in actively aiding the cause of majority rule and human rights in southern Africa. That would be both principled and pragmatic, a tandem in which Americans otherwise pride themselves.

Unfortunately, in the nation that gave the world philosophical pragmatism, nut-and-bolts dogmatists still rule the foreign policy roost. ■

Correction

Last week's editorial, "Supreme Court hands down Nixon's revenge," erroneously listed Justice John Paul Stevens as one of the four Nixon appointees on the Court. Along with Chief Justice Burger and associate justices Blackmun and Rehnquist, Lewis Powell should have been named instead of Stevens, who was appointed by President Ford. We regret the error and disclaim any libelous intent.

LETTERS

THE LEFT IN SPAIN

CASEY BLAKE'S ARTICLE (ITT, APR. 18) on the April 3 Spanish election was excellent. A little more elaboration could help explain the depth of victory of the left and the new political situation in Spain.

First, some figures: The left won 27 capitals of provinces with a population of 10.5 million; the center right 23 capitals with a 2.5 million population.

Of cities with over 50,000 population that are not capitals, the left won 44 for a total of more than five million people.

Counting only the results in these 103 cities, the left mayors and councillors are assured of management of municipal life of over 40 percent of the Spanish population.

The center-right forces of the UCD (Suarez) won in an overwhelming number of the smaller towns, villages and cities. This picture is similar to the election of 1931—the installation of the second Spanish Republic.

The PSOE will have mayors in thousands of municipalities of all sizes. (There are 5,000 in Spain.) The PCE elected the mayor of Cordoba, a city of 300,000 population and at least another 170 cities will have Communist mayors.

Madrid and Barcelona truly have Red belts—municipalities ruled by Socialists and/or Communist mayors and city councils. Even the PTE (a Maoist party) elected a mayor, in Estepona, in the Costa del Sol. The Costa del Sol (tourist haven of Toremolinos, Malaga),

known as the "Costa del Bunker," has been called "Costa Rojo" since the elections.

In the general elections of March 1, the PSOE refused cooperation of Communists in expectation of winning the whole ball of wax. Thus the UCD was able to win over a majority in the Senate.

Its attempt to "go it alone," and move to win the center votes in the March election not only failed but it lost much of its left-wing vote to the PCE.

Following the April 3 election, it accepted cooperation of Communists and leftists in a concerted effort to isolate the center-right forces in the cities. The agreement: Whichever party has the most councillors will be supported for mayor by the other party.

This election and its significance could be seen in the symbolism of the flags of the PSOE and PCE, together on the statues of King Philip IV on the Plaza Mayor in Madrid at 4:00 a.m. April 4 after the victory of the Socialist Tierno Galvan as mayor was foreseen.

—Herman "Gabby" Rosenstein
Los Angeles

CONSIDER THE SPERM

HAVING COME THIS FAR IN MY STRUGGLE for full title to my own sex organs, as men enjoy for theirs, I'm not about to hand it over to one Patrick McGeever (Letters, ITT, Apr. 25) for any reason whatsoever, least of all his notion that human life begins at conception.

If we have to be ridiculous, why not

reverse the sex bias in the current dogma by postulating instead that life actually begins from the first moment of ejaculation? Human sperm exhibit far more life than newly fertilized ova and don't look a bit less "human," so why not acknowledge the obvious and get on with a constitutional amendment prohibiting any male from depositing such precious human cargo in any fashion that might threaten their chance of survival?

I'm sure my concern for "society's disadvantaged" is as great as Mr. McGeever's. I not only belong to society's most disadvantaged sex, but have been an unwanted child as well, and my experience has taught me to trust the wisdom and humanity of decisions freely made by the persons most closely involved rather than kneejerk edicts from confirmed dogmatists who cannot seem to avoid distorting and misrepresenting such issues, as Mr. McGeever demonstrated in his reference to pregnant women, eight months along, frivolously "changing their minds."

The current struggle is over anti-choice efforts to recriminalize the abortions the Supreme Court legalized, which involved first and second trimesters only; abortions of viable infants are not a bone of contention. Neither do abortions normally occur over eleventh-hour changes of mind; they habitually result from unintended pregnancies.

—Audrey M. Patton
Moody, Mo.

NUCLEAR POWER

THE MALFUNCTIONING OF THE Nuclear plant on Three Mile Island gave people a strong stimulus to react against the dangers associated with the atomic reactors. But it would be a mistake for the left to oppose the development of nuclear energy as a matter of principle.

Nuclear energy is here to stay—in the U.S. and abroad—because of the depletion of fossil fuels. Sustained resistance against the progress of nuclear energy is futile.

The left should instead concentrate its attack against the ownership of nuclear energy by private corporations, which in their greed for profit are neglecting precautions to avoid catastrophe. This is an excellent opportunity for socialists to convince American people that "free enterprise" is now obsolete. The operation of nuclear plants should be franchised only to federal and state agencies under citizens' control.

It is also a misconception to see the issue of nuclear power as a question of left vs. right. The Soviet Union and other Communist countries are vigorously engaged in exploiting nuclear energy. The defeat of the Social-Democratic Party in the last election in Sweden was caused to a large extent by the scare propaganda of the right-wing opposition against the proposal of Palme's government to utilize nuclear power. Similarly, the right wing in Austria defeated the nuclear initiative of the Social Democratic government in the recent special plebiscite.

The Mobilization for Survival, which is supposed to be a coalition of diverse peace groups, contributes to the confusion by advocating simultaneously the slogans: "Zero Nuclear Weapons" and "Ban Nuclear Power." These issues should be separately treated on their own merits.

—Arthur Redler
New York City

Typesetter's note: The "Atoms for Peace" development of nuclear energy and the sale of reactors to provide it tie in directly to Harry Truman's decision to develop the bomb as a threat against the "Red Menace." Nuclear energy and nuclear weapons were rocked in the same cradle and both have been nurtured at the expense—in dollars and safety—of the American people. The fact that the Soviets have cloned the same creature is no consolation to those who contract cancers and leukemia from "safe" low-level doses of radioactivity from bomb testing and nuclear energy mismanagement. In nuclear power, as in nuclear weapons, we are at the mercy of a group of corporations who have, as standard operational procedure, sacri-

ficed the health, safety, well-being and future of the people to their objective: profit. To continue the nuclear madness and to miss the chance to examine the corporate ethos that spawned it is not only folly, it's suicide.

—Jim Rinner

NAM/DSOC

FLORENCE LEVINSON (ITT, APR. 18) mentions a "proposed merger" between the New American Movement (NAM) and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). This is inaccurate—no one has proposed merger. DSOC has proposed that a committee be set up that would "explore the possibilities" of merger. NAM will consider this at its National Convention in August. The distinction between this situation and a "proposed merger" is not negligible. Even the idea of exploring the possibility of merger between two socialist organizations is unusual. In this case, it is itself controversial within both organizations. It is helpful to members of both organizations and interested observers to be as clear as possible about what is occurring between them.

—Richard Healey
National Secretary, NAM
Chicago

PAUL JACOB'S CANCER

THE LANDAU AND WILLIS ARTICLE ON Paul Jacobs (ITT, Apr. 11) errs in firmly attributing the probable cause of his fatal lung cancer to a radioactive particle.

Unfortunately, the cause of the vast majority of cancers cannot be precisely identified. The undifferentiated small cell type lung cancer has been noted to occur more frequently among uranium miners, but this is not an exclusive association. It is also found in cigarette smokers, chemical (mustard gas) workers, and individuals who with known exposure to any of these agents. The same dilemma faces those who develop leukemia, breast cancer or thyroid cancer.

Without documentation of a radiation or chemical dose sufficient to cause an appreciable increase in the risk of cancer above the spontaneous risk, there is no basis for probable cause. The fact that the geiger counter pegged (typically this occurs at a relatively low dose rate, 20 millirems/hour) is not diagnostic of the inhalation of a radioactive dust particle.

I respect Paul's belief in this causation. But it does not help us to deal with the general problem of cancer causality when journalists state that the cause is definitely established and it is not.

—Roland A. Finston
Palo Alto, Cal.

HELP MAKE ITT A POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL SUCCESS

IN THESE TIMES IS SEEKING TRAVELING representatives and salespeople to increase circulation, make the paper better known and to organize support groups.

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Travelers will work closely with the Chicago office and subscribers throughout each state. Orientation and training is planned for late June or early July.

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Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

NICARAGUA NOTEBOOK

"My friends are dying again in Nicaragua..."

By Richard Elman

THERE ARE 2.5 MILLION NICARAGUANS. MOST HATE THE Somozas, a dynasty that has murdered and impoverished them for 44 years, for most of that time with U.S. support. Now, once again, Sandinista revolutionary cadres and ordinary citizens are dying because the army of the Somozas has no respect for the white flag, and makes no distinction between the combatants and people who may be living in the middle of a war. My friends are dying again in Nicaragua, people who took me into their houses, and showed me how to

cross their streets in the midst of a fire-fight. The people with whom I exchanged the numerous small Latin courtesies of daily life are among the insurgent forces in the cities and the countryside, and they are struggling to transform their own lives with revolution.

When I think of such people at my desk on Long Island I find the clichés of our media choke the life and breath of recall. I think of the insurgents who were masked to protect their identities from a ruthless and recriminatory terror depicted as "bandits" and "terrorists." I think of women, small street kids, teenagers, exiles, students, farmers, and priests; of baseball caps, and old MIs, and pistols, and home-made tape bombs.

I think of a hot jungle road last September a few miles outside of besieged Monimbo; and of a handsome young fellow of maybe 16 in a striped polo shirt with some metal things bundled inside a pillow case across his shoulder. In the middle distance we heard explosions: tanks and bombing planes were reducing those who still remained in Monimbo to corpses in a rubble. The town was said to be encircled.

That young man seemed as carefree as somebody playing truant from school when he suddenly emerged from some

trees a few miles up the road just before the place where members of the press were being turned back at gunpoint by a Guard roadblock. Lackadaisically, he stuck out his thumb, American-fashion, to ask us for a hitch.

When we stopped short he scrambled quickly into the back seat, said nothing about what was going on, or who he was, or the noises of warfare, until our car—clearly marked with large PERIODISTA placards—had passed a second small National Guard patrol. Then he told my friend Matt who drove, it would suffice to be dropped off here, and when we stopped he hurried out the door again.

"That wasn't very far," I said, in Spanish.

"Far enough, thank you," as I heard the hard noise of those things clanking together inside his pillow sack, and then we all said, "Take care."

"I do fine," he said. "Go well..."

"Adios!"

Matt hit the gas pedal just as the young man called out to us again: "Patria libre!"

It was a bright sound in that suddenly still air, and then the dust from our car took his figure. With the slogan of the rebellion he had given voice to his hope, his love, and his only means of identifying himself among friends.

ROBERTA LYNCH

Left can offer vision to counter passivity on nuclear power

I AM THE KIND OF PERSON who is always convinced I will be run over by a crazed ambulance driver whenever I walk to the grocery store or plunged to a fiery end by a drunken pilot when I board an airplane. Somehow these fears of the mundane seem to



have served to make me less susceptible to the growing obsession with the pollutants in our air and our food. Despite friends who compulsively read me the labels on bacon packages and develop acute coughs in the vicinity of steel mills, I've continued to live my life as though red dye #2 was just the latest in Easter egg colorings and plutonium was something out of a Superman comic.

I opposed nuclear power plants largely because I felt certain that anything so vigorously promoted by such notorious truth-benders and profit-guzzlers as the energy monopolies had to be a pretty questionable proposition.

Lately, however, it's begun to dawn on me that I am in real danger. I live within 100 miles of five nuclear power plants. Three Mile Island has dramatically demonstrated that millions of Americans are living in the potential "trouble belt" of nuclear plants. Not to mention the millions more who are in the vicinity of nu-

clear dumping grounds or the roads or rails over which nuclear wastes are casually transported.

It isn't just the threat of a nuclear accident that worries me, though. It's the passivity with which people responded to the TMI incident.

It began with those who sleep in the shadow of that plant. The thing was a virtual time bomb, with no one knowing if or when it would go off.

Why didn't everyone run away right away? I'm not for mass panic or pandemonium, but a little confusion, even a little hysteria, seems preferable to the placid mentality that keeps people fixed in place.

I'm sure the reasons that people stayed were mixed. Many simply had nowhere to go. The government wouldn't try to accommodate them until it decided that

things were getting too risky (judging by the evidence now being released, this probably would have coincided with the first big bang).

Others clung to the belief that those in control really knew what was going on. They tried to follow all the absurd directives being pumped out to give a semblance of protection: "First shower with hot water, then with cold." (Or was it the other way around?)

This somewhat blind faith in the authorities was, it turns out, returned in kind. They were all in the dark from the word go. As NRC head Joseph Hendrie put it at the time: "His [Thornburg] information is ambiguous. Mine is non-existent. ...It's like a couple of blind men staggering around making decisions."

Equally disturbing was the lack of protest in the area. Why wasn't everyone marching on Metropolitan Edison fast and furious? The situation was likely a matter of life and death. Yet published reports showed little hostility toward the company that brought it all on.

This lack of response poses one of the most serious questions raised by the TMI incident: What does it take to get people angry (or scared) enough to break through traditional patterns of authority and behavior?

It is not a question that is restricted to a bunch of small towns in Pennsylvania. Although anti-nuclear demonstrations around the country have increased in size and number since TMI, only 40 percent of those questioned in a post-TMI Gallup poll felt that the situation there wasn't handled as well as possible. And a clear majority—63 percent—still favored the development of nuclear power. (On the plus side, this was down from a pre-TMI figure of 71 percent.)

I think that some of this surprising complacency has to do not so much with a faith in our leaders as it does with a faith in technology—and technocrats.

There are other current issues on which people have shown some willingness to challenge. But they are usually issues that people believe—whether rightly or wrongly—are within their ken.

Nuclear power—that's something else. It's as mysterious to most people as the origins of the universe. In fact, for many people, technology is a new kind of god, in which is placed the unquestioning trust once reserved only for the Almighty.

Those in power do their best to compound this notion. They constantly try to make it seem as though the facts are far too complex and technical for the average person to begin to understand.

Besides this mystification of technology, another problem has been the lack of clear alternatives in the public eye.

The anti-nuke movement has been hampered by its "hippie" life-style image which sometimes comes across as simply anti-technological. And its sensible calls for solar or wind power are ridiculed by "experts" who fail to mention that relatively speaking the research done on these forms has produced as much in the way of reliable energy source potential as that lavished upon nuclear.

Perhaps most basically, the passivity I've described may be related not just to a lack of specific alternatives, but to the lack of an alternative vision—a sense of how a complicated modern industrial society can fulfill people's material and spiritual needs. A vision of how people can regain control over their lives, their environment and their technology.

This is what the left can—and should—seek to develop as its contribution to the anti-nuclear movement. It cannot be an approach that simply seems to be anti-technological. You don't need to ride a bike or give up your power lawn mower to be against nuclear power. It must aim, rather, at the demystification and popular control of technology.

And ultimately, it must demonstrate that without the pressures and distortions of the profit motive, it is possible to insure jobs and a decent standard of living for Americans without the exploitation of the rest of the world, the destruction of our environment, or the risking of our children's future.

Roberta Lynch is a national officer of the *New American Movement*, a democratic socialist organization.

STAUGHTON LYND

LABOR AND THE LAW

At Boston University an injury to one is an injury to all

ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO IT was held in a case involving Cornell University that a private university that does a significant amount of interstate business is within the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board. Now, at Boston University, a dramatic strike has demonstrated the opportunities opened up for academic workers by this decision. Events at Boston University are the product of the extraordinary tyranny of university president John Silber and the extraordinary imagination and tenacity of teachers, secretaries and maintenance workers.

In January 1976, the faculties of several of the university's colleges, 13 of the deans, and the faculty senate urged the university trustees not to reappoint President Silber. Silber was reappointed. By the fall of 1976, only one of the deans and a few of the department chairmen who had opposed the reappointment still had their jobs. Trustees opposed to the reappointment had resigned and were replaced by Silber loyalists.

During the spring of 1976, however, two significant things happened. The sec-



retaries and technical workers at BU voted that District 65 of the Distributive Workers should bargain for them collectively. Meantime, the faculty, who in 1975 had voted to be represented by the AAUP, won a court order directing the university to bargain with them.

Silber refused to recognize District 65. Accordingly, 900 secretaries and others represented by District 65, and 850 teachers in the AAUP bargaining unit, found themselves thrust toward an unusual alliance. During the fall of 1978 the professional librarians also voted in a union of their own, Local 925 of the SEIU. Maintenance workers were already represented by Local 254.

In the fall of 1978 negotiations, of a

sort, began. The teachers had submitted a contract proposal Sept. 1. As of October the administration had still not responded, but was insisting that the negotiating sessions be held off campus. Each side was represented by lawyers and membership involvement was low.

Dissatisfied with this state of affairs, an informal network of teachers, students, secretaries, librarians and maintenance workers (including the staff of the student newspaper, which, though expelled from the campus and cut off from student activity funds, continued to publish) intervened.

The negotiating team for Local 254 rejected the administration's final offer and the membership agreed to strike. After the meeting, the negotiators agreed to a slightly amended package, but when they took it to the picket lines the members refused to stop the strike. Their leadership had to go back to the university administration and continue bargaining.

Professors supported the strike by holding their classes off campus. Two held their classes jointly as a huge outdoor rally. When the administration responded by threatening to dock their pay, and invited students to report any teachers who did not teach the appropriate subject matter at the appropriate time and place, other faculty were indignant. The strike support committee called a joint rally of faculty and secretaries in support of the striking maintenance workers. The next day the administration gave in to Local 925's demands.

The victory reinvigorated the secretaries' campaign for recognition, and the teachers' effort to obtain a contract. A community council was formed on which all four unions, students, teaching assistants, the Women's Center, and others were represented. In early February, over 900 persons attended a teach-in, which protested a \$490 tuition increase and discussed an analysis which had been set forth in a booklet, *Who Rules BU?*

District 65 and the AAUP formed a coalition based on agreement to support one another's demands. The administration continued to insist on complete con-

trol over hiring, class size, pay scales, and hours. Its notion of a concession was to agree that teachers might choose their own textbooks.

Finally, the faculty and the secretaries did strike. An apparent settlement of the teachers' demands fell through when the trustees refused to ratify the agreement. The teachers then struck on April 5 and were joined by the secretaries and librarians.

The faculty strike ended in the second week of April when the trustees ratified essentially what they had declined to approve before. Victory, however, came with a price. One of nine so-called minor changes in the contract as first approved by the faculty was an addition to the no-strike clause, which obligated the faculty not to engage in picketing or sympathy strikes. Thus, not only did teachers settle while secretaries and librarians were still on strike, but the teachers appeared to have committed themselves not to support their fellow workers' ongoing struggle.

Where there is a will, however, a way can often be found. One project under consideration among teachers is to join the secretaries in picketing, arguing that the commitment in the teachers' contract not to picket is void.

There is a solid legal argument for this position. In 1974, the Supreme Court held in *NLRB v. Magnavox Company of Tennessee*, 415 U.S. 322, that a union may not bargain away the speech rights of individual employees protected by Section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act. Picketing has repeatedly been held by the Supreme Court to be "the dissemination of information concerning the facts of a labor dispute." *Thornhill v. Alabama*, 310 U.S. 88, 102 (1940). Therefore, a clause in a labor contract giving away the right to picket is void and without legal effect.

Staughton Lynd, a long-time civil rights and anti-war activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. Readers interested in corresponding with Lynd can write him at 1694, Timbers Ct., Niles, OH 44446.

PERSPECTIVES

Reassessing King's rich political legacy

By M. Ron Karenga

APRIL MARKED THE ELEVENTH anniversary of the death of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., one of the most effective mass leaders of our time. King was, above all, a religious leader and in a time which has witnessed the socio-religious phenomena of Jonestown and Islamic revolution and reaction in Iran, a reassessment of his legacy as a leader assumes an extra significance. It would be



easy, though vulgarly dogmatic, to dismiss King as just another religious reformer, or to compare him with Malcolm X, his contemporary, and come to the equally vulgar conclusion that he was not as revolutionary and, therefore, irrelevant. However, history and society and the people who make both are not so easily summed up and set aside. Moreover, labels only relieve us of the responsibility of critical thought and never really add to our understanding of self, society and the world.

King was not a revolutionary hero as was Malcolm, but he was a folk hero with a mass base and a focus that made both a significant theoretical and practical contribution to social change in the U.S. His relevance and *raison d'être* begin and end as a spokesman and historical agent for the oppressed, especially blacks.

Social practice requires social theory and King's contribution to Afro-American social theory is noteworthy in several areas. He authored six books and numerous articles. Perhaps *Stride Toward Freedom*, *Why We Can't Wait* and *Where Do We Go From Here: Community or Chaos* are his most definitive works.

Central to King's social theory was his advocacy of:

- the need and capacity of American society to criticize and correct itself;
- the necessity of religion having a social as well as spiritual function;
- civil disobedience as a moral right and responsibility;
- the perfectability of human nature through self-development in struggle;
- the projection of a beloved community based on the end of racial and class alienation—i.e., social justice and fraternity and sorority.

King began his theory by offering American society one of its most severe moral self-criticisms, exposing its dual and contradictory character in terms of race and class. He stressed that even though his petty-bourgeois background freed him from suffering and poverty, he saw early "that the inseparable twin of racial injustice was economic injustice" and that whites were often exploited like blacks.

It was his unshakable refusal to surrender the American dream that reflected so poignantly its often nightmarish and contradictory character. He embarrassed liberals and leftists alike by seeming almost to overstress the moral character of his mission, to sensitize and mobilize America around the defense and practice of its fundamental values. He was especially concerned with America's "schizophrenic personality on the question of race," a nation plagued and torn by two selves: "a self in which she proudly professed the great principles of democracy and a self in which she sadly practiced the antithesis of democracy." He was, however, not discouraged and led a mass movement to effect a social cure.

Having read Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and Social Crisis*, which linked Christianity with socialism in a

project of social regeneration, King, too, posed the necessity of religion having a social as well as spiritual function. He thought Rauschenbusch, a turn-of-the-century Social Gospel leader, had come "perilously close to identifying the Kingdom of God with a particular social and economic system," something he felt should not occur. But he gave Rauschenbusch credit for insisting that religion deal with the whole person—i.e., his/her spiritual well-being and material well-being. He concluded, "It has been my conviction ever since reading Rauschenbusch that any religion which professes to be concerned about the souls of men and is not concerned about the socio-economic conditions that scar the soul, is a spiritually morbid religion only waiting for the day to be buried."

A socially conscious religion logically

led King to search for a method of social transformation. This led him to Thoreau's *Essay on Civil Disobedience*, which left him "fascinated by the idea of refusing to cooperate with an evil system." Eventually, he embraced Gandhi's concept of nonviolent resistance.

It is this concept for which King is most criticized and, ironically, the concept with which he had the most success. He was overwhelmingly right to argue that non-violent resistance requires courage and discipline on the part of the resisters. The problem is that it often makes the cowards attack more aggressively and refuses to recognize the right of self-defense.

Still, one is reminded that the movement was successful in effecting change—moral and legal. One is also reminded of the recent religious demonstrations of unarmed citizens in Iran which culminated in revolution. And, finally, one is reminded of an Israeli president trying to explain the many instances of non-resistance and seeming submission of Jews under Nazi rule and who concluded that just staying human in an inhuman situation was courage and achievement.

The defining characteristic of King's concept of civil disobedience, however, was his stress on the immorality of co-operation in one's own oppression and by extension the moral and social right and responsibility one has to resist social evil and injustice. And it is this which puts him in the company of the most respected freedom fighters.

A fourth emphasis of King's social theory was his contention that human nature is perfectable through struggle. He asserted that "the dialectical process helped me to see that growth comes through struggle." Central to this concept is the stress King put on the key role blacks have in the struggle for self-liberation which, given their social and moral position in American society, will translate at the same time as a "saving mission" to America. It is a moral translation of the social concept of a class or social bloc whose liberation will, in fact, free not only itself, but the whole of society because of its social location.

Finally, King posed the idea of a beloved community, an American dream in-

clusive of all people, based not on the color of one's skin, but the content of character. His delineation of the project is not clear, but from the vague outlines one sees Augustine's City of God and Aquinas' City of Righteousness—paragons of social justice and harmony. The contradiction in this, however, is that it is God's city, not humankind's and thus, still a projection of the self-alienation of which religion is so characteristic. It is in the final analysis, a reminder that regardless of the practical concerns of religion, its theoretical roots in theology make it problematic as a theory of human capacity to control our destiny and daily life.

To sum up King's practical contribution is, in reality, to sum up the gains of the civil rights movement which made him its hero. King would be the first to admit the relationship between heroism and the masses who make heroes; heroines and history. King's practical contribution is defined by the movement's broad and inclusive character; its legal and moral victories for social change; the structures it built and which were later used for Black Power thrusts; the models of struggle it left for other ethnic and sexual minorities and its winning moral allies on a world scale, thus contributing to internationalizing the black struggle.

King and the movement he led were not always successful, but their failures and successes helped lay the bases for higher levels of struggle. For only when this form of struggle had been historically exhausted could the forms of the '60s take root and find reception.

It is interesting to note that even before Iran, King had proved that labelling religion as "opiate of the people" fails to deal with its dual character, i.e., its capacity to contribute to domination or liberation. It is a lesson worth remembering by agents of social change, especially when the road to revolution can lead to either Iran, Montgomery, Birmingham and beyond or detour to Jonestown.

M. Ron Karenga is an associate professor of Pan-African Studies at California State University, Los Angeles. His book, *Afro-American Nationalism: An Alternative Analysis*, will be published this fall by Third World Press.

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Over one million S.E. Asian women now work for U.S. corporations, forming the central link in assembly lines that stretch from the U.S. to Asia and back again. Their salaries are as low as 80¢ a day.

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New forms of personnel control which manipulate traditional concepts of femininity, passivity, and sexuality are now being implemented by American electronics companies in S.E. Asia.

"Hey grandma! How do you like your new glasses?"

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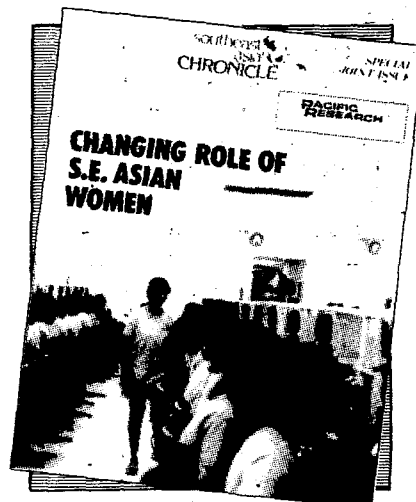
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»SPORTS

BOOKS

Basketball still a schoolyard game

By Fred Siegel

NOW THAT TELEVISION HAS made a hero out of any player who can find his way to the basket without a flashlight, many pros talk about themselves as businessmen. But as Bob Levin's *The Best Ride to New York* (Harper and Row, \$8.95) and Robert Greenfield's *Haymon's Crowd* (Summit Books, \$9.95) remind us, basketball is still a kids' game, even when it's played by outsized men. For Levin's and Greenfield's characters, the basketball arena is a mausoleum of childhood fears and fantasies.

Levin and Greenfield are both concerned with the Bobby Knight/Zen school of basketball, the idea that you play the game not so much against an opponent as against yourself. Their characters are men whose lives are so absorbed by the inner rhythms of their games that they are closed off from their adult responsibilities.

Levin's *The Best Ride to New York*, the far shorter and more tightly written of the two, has the form but not the substance of a conventional sports novel. Levin's ballplayer Jake "Grizzly" Baer, plays for the Ridley Gap Ghosts, a small time West Virginia professional team made up of "watch pocket guards," "six-four forwards who could do everything but grow," and centers "big as trees and half as quick." Jake, the star of the team, is a player whose career is coming to an end and who has no idea of what to do for his future. He can get no help from his teammate and best friend Jojo who, his career ended with an injury, is consumed with a childhood fantasy. Neither can he get help from his lover, a married

woman with two kids who is constantly reliving her days as a prom queen.

Jake has only his sense of himself as a player to fall back on. A decent guy, he is willing to do anything to make it last. He's even willing to take part in a scheme by the team's gangster owner to bring a young college player in on a point-shaving operation. Levin's astringent prose brings the story to an intriguing climax in the league championship game.

While Levin's taut plot is propelled by Jake Baer's emotional life, the prime mover in Robert Greenfield's *Haymon's Crowd* is the neighborhood—Jewish Brighton Beach in the late 1950s. It was a time "when the game of basketball meant more in the Jewish neighborhoods of Brooklyn and the Bronx than it ever has since." For the teenagers of those neighborhoods the schoolyard was "the very epicenter of the universe, the place where news began and history was made." Greenfield's coiled prose radiates outward from the schoolyard to the homes and families of the schoolyard players until it encompasses the greater part of Jewish lower middle class life in a world now rapidly vanishing.

Some Jews matched themselves against the uptown Wasp world of Columbia, but others tested themselves on the handball and basketball of Brighton. Take Greenfield's Honey Krieger, a case hardened product of the depression, for whom sympathy was a word which appeared between shit and syphilis in the dictionary. Honey took "extra pleasure in destroying men who were younger and more successful than he on the handball court, particularly doctors or lawyers."

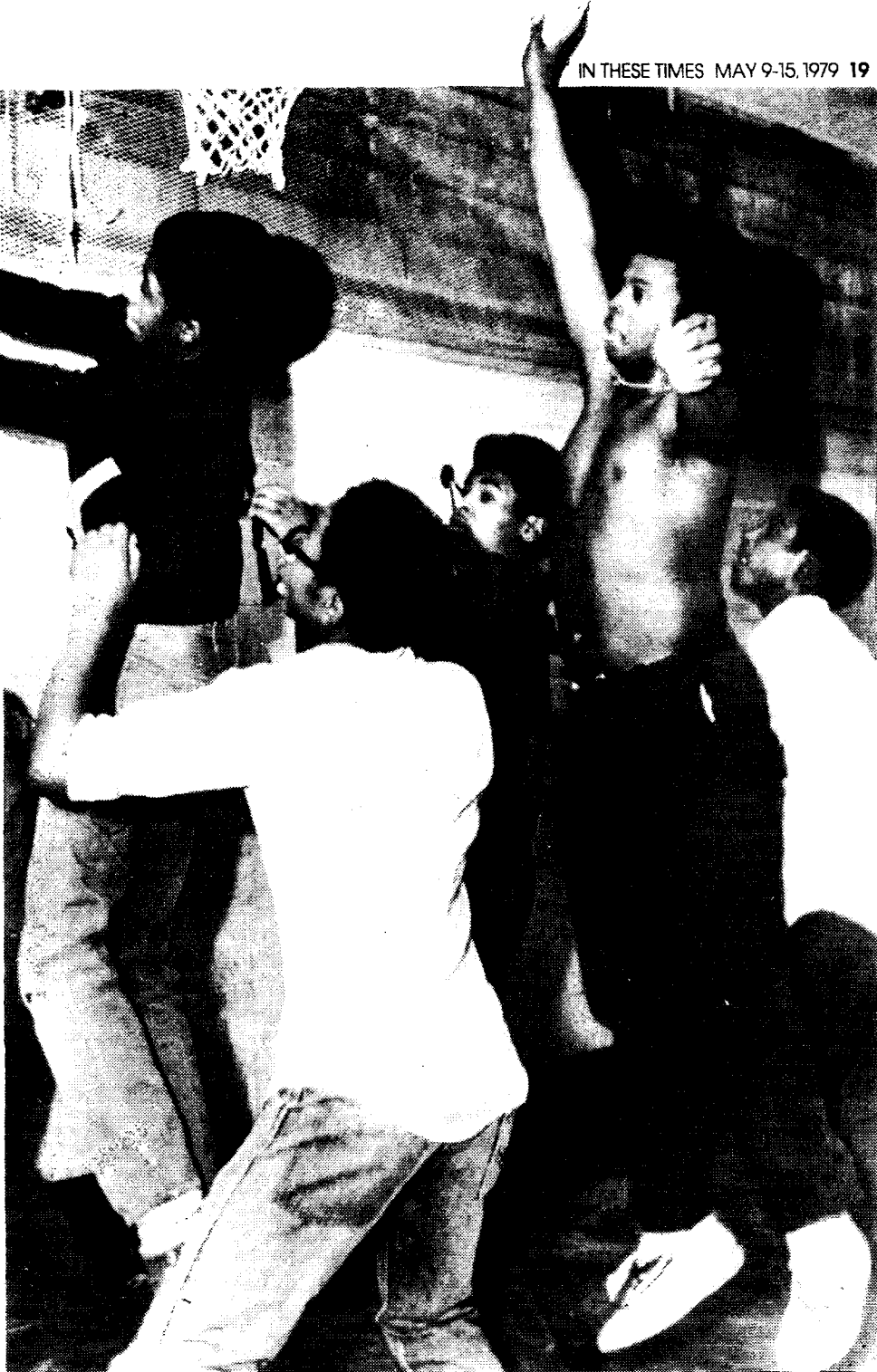
For the schoolyard basketball players, guys like gangly seven-foot Haymon Ja-

cobs, trying to prove themselves, there were the summer tournaments run by Osh, a neighborhood character with a connection to college recruiters.

In Greenfield's description, the game and the comradeship it embodies have been sanctified. The game takes on a religious luminosity that will reappear a decade later when these same "boys of Brighton" will idolize the Knicks in their drive for the NBA championship.

Greenfield's depiction of Brighton life is the high point of the novel. As his char-

acters leave the old neighborhood their lives unravel, and so does the plot. In what follows Greenfield tries to weave an account of drugs and gambling in the NBA with an almost allegorical and overly-ambitious story about the sufferings of Haymon Jacobs and his friends. But whatever its weaknesses, Greenfield's *Haymon's Crowd* gives an extraordinary account of what some children of '60s Jews will call "the world of our fathers." *Fred Siegel teaches at the Labor Center of Empire State College.*



John Kerr

...and I'm not going to take it anymore!

Continued from page 24.

al rights—due process and equal protection, when he was stripped of his title—98 percent of the sportswriters in America derided him? And I received death threats because, on constitutional law grounds, I supported him. I knew he couldn't lose, even in a Nixon-dominated Supreme Court.

How can you get more journalism out of sports?

I don't think that you will, and I think in the long run the greater fault lies with the press—they don't want to be journalists. The amount of conflict of interest in sportswriting is simply incredible.

Don Losterman, the general manager of the Rams, came to me one day and said, "I'm sick of this goddamned L.A. *Herald Examiner*. The paper won't even cover our games unless we pay the writers \$28 per diem." I said, "You pay that?" He said, "Yeah, show you the books." I disclosed it in an address before the Hollywood Radio and Television Society; the practice was discontinued.

Now can you understand why the press has tried, through what we call "vendetta journalism" to get Howard Cosell?

But I stay on the air, because people watch me. In television, there are no heroes, there are no villains, there are only ratings. If I do a fight on my network, and other announcers do fights on other networks, we'll out-rate them three-to-five-to-one. People are watching OK. ■

BUSINESS

Taxpayers doom domed stadium

By Jon Kerr

THE LATEST DOWNTOWN MINNEAPOLIS domed stadium express seems to have been derailed by the efforts of local sports fans, environmentalists, senior citizens, taxpayer organizations, and neighborhood opponents. On April 10, Gov. Al Quie signed a measure repealing the 2 percent liquor tax on the Twin Cities metropolitan area, spelling doom for the planned public underwriting of a dome opposed by two out of three Minnesotans.

On Dec. 1, 1978, the Metro Sports Facilities Commission caved in to special interests. Two of the ex-Gov. Perpich appointed commissioners candidly admitted their votes (in a 4-3 tally) to recommend the downtown Minneapolis site were directly influenced by a last minute intimidating letter from Minnesota Vikings president Max Winter. Combined with pressure from the baseball Twins, the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, the Minneapolis City Council, local AFL-CIO leadership, and especially the state's largest newspaper corporation (the Minneapolis Star & Tribune), Winter's repeated blackmail threats to take the Vikings from the area constituted a tremendous power behind the Industry Square dome proposal.

Opposition mounted. Disclosures of the

parking and traffic problems that would result in downtown and nearby neighborhood areas, the probable interference with adjacent hospitals and nursing homes, the end to tailgating, the higher ticket prices, increased television blackouts, the expected loss of the soccer Kicks, and especially the likelihood of stadium construction costs overruns and major indirect costs alarmed a public already obliged to subsidize the dome's operation (and thus the profits of wealthy sports teams) with \$1.3 million in annual liquor tax payments. Led by an umbrella coalition, Minnesotans Against the Downtown Dome (MADD), including such diverse elements as sports activists, Save the Met, and the small bar owners of COST (Citizens Opposed to the Stadium Tax), momentum grew behind liquor tax repeal efforts.

MADD's amateur lobbyists activated public attention and pressure through petitions, leafletting, picketing, rallies, and media contacts. Meanwhile, an unexpected boost came from professional sports industry moguls who delayed the signing of the 30-year leases required by Minnesota law before any new stadium could be constructed. National Football League owners also refused to recognize a Minnesota statute designed to protect viewers from television blackouts (the 90 percent attendance clause), and Twins' owner Calvin Griffith claimed he could not meet rental requirements totalling less than 7 percent of the dome's annual

operating costs.

The repeal measure's shocking victory in the State Senate and apparent popularity in the House of Representatives indicated the growing force of public opinion. In desperation, pro-domers stepped up delay and self interest pressure tactics. Ineffective with his breakfast "information" sessions for key legislators, Star and Tribune Corporation chairman John Cowles Jr. was caught in a closed meeting with Gov. Quie, for whom he had made a \$5000 campaign contribution in the last election. Similarly, from his Hawaiian winter home Max Winter made midnight phone calls to House leaders.

But threats to take the Vikings from the area and the smoke of backroom deals only delayed final House passage until April 5.

Now there's a scheme to dome the University of Minnesota's Memorial Stadium. Disguised as an aid to the school's lacking intramural facilities, the \$65 million proposal seems again to offer significant gains only to the wealthy and demanding Vikings, who nevertheless presently reject consideration of anything but a new stadium. Moreover, similar tax subsidizing and negative neighborhood effects plague this latest "solution."

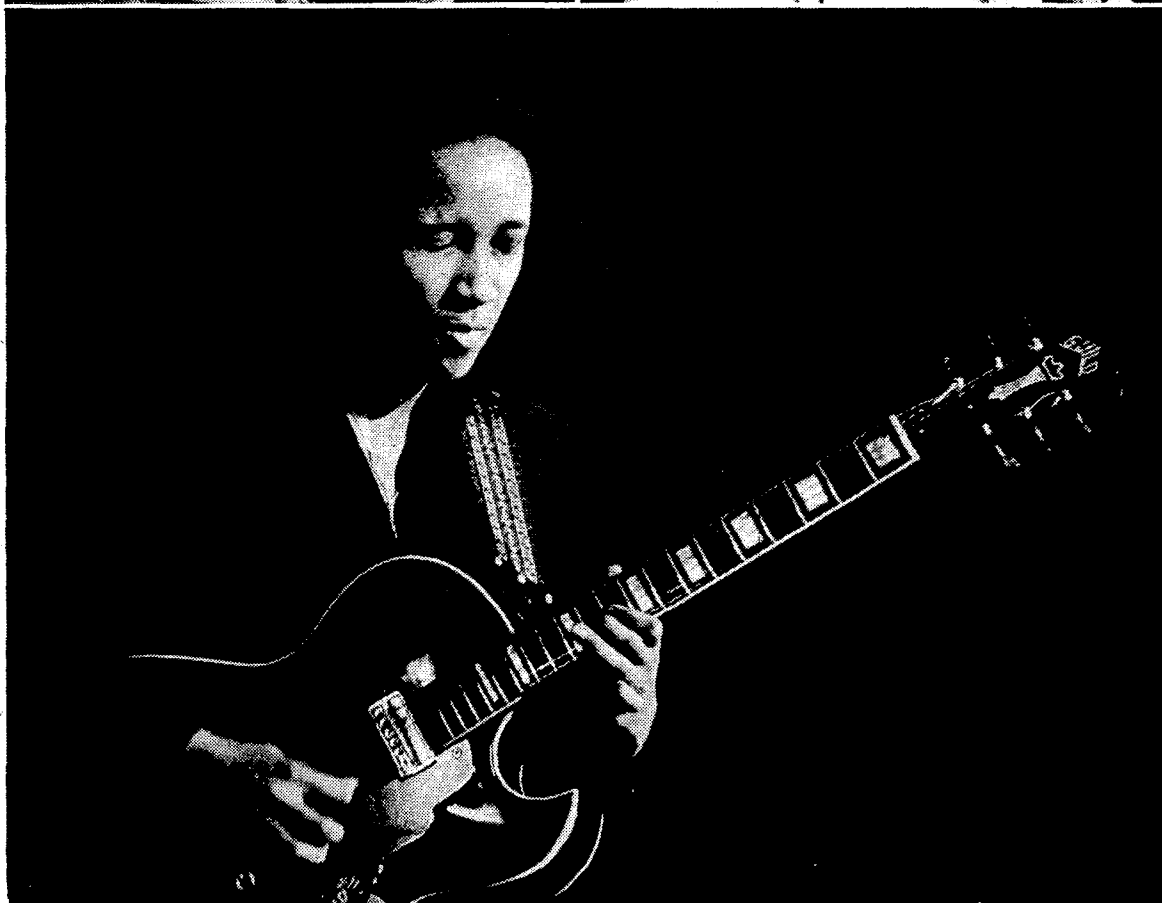
Remodeling and expanding to 55,000 seats a multi-purpose Metropolitan Stadium still seems the most financially and environmentally responsible manner to offer quality facilities and to protect fans. ■



ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

*I've got what it takes.
(but it breaks my heart to give it away)*

WOMEN AND JAZZ BY DERK RICHARDSON



You can forgive them for lacking guts in their playing, but even women should be able to play with feeling and expression and *they never do it.* Such a critique of female jazz artists may not have been unexpected when it appeared in *down beat* magazine under the title, "Why Women Musicians Are Inferior." But what are we to make of the 1977 claim from as distinguished a critic as the *New Yorker's* Whitney Balliett that jazz is "a peculiarly male music [for which] most women lack the physical equipment—to say nothing of the poise"?

For over 50 years jazz has been considered a masculine domain, and although there have always been talented women players, due to the persistence of sexual stereotypes they are only beginning to receive acceptance and recognition in the ostensibly democratic and unprejudiced world of jazz.

When Mamie Smith was recorded singing "Crazy Blues" in 1920, she opened up the one avenue which jazz women were welcome, and soon expected to take. Her popular success paved the way for Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, the Boswell Sisters and eventually Ella Fitzgerald and Billie Holiday. It also set the early limits of acceptability around women's participation in popular music.

Not that women vocalists confined themselves to singing. From the outset the jazz singers moved beyond the interpretation of lyrics toward experimentation with the phrasing, rhythm and melody of the song. Connie Boswell, who recorded with her sisters in the '30s, was inspired by Bessie Smith's approach: "I listened for the sound, not the lyrics."

Although many big bands in the '30s and '40s used "girl singers" as much for decoration as for augmenting the sound, women vocalists were validating their voices as instruments of jazz. Ella Fitzgerald, Anita O'Day and others sang wordless scat lines that matched the spirit and creativity of sax and trumpet solos.

Billie Holiday, whose innovations with time and peerless expressions of emotion set the standards by which other singers must be judged, described how a vocalist became a jazz musician: "I don't think I'm singing. I feel like I am playing a horn. I try to improvise like Les Young, like Louis Armstrong, or someone else that I admire. What comes out is what I feel. I hate straight singing. I have to change a tune to my own way of doing it."

Today, Ella, Sarah Vaughan, Carmen McRae and Cleo Laine carry on the classic tradition; the incredible Betty Carter translates the bebop of Charlie Parker into vocals of searing intensity; and the relatively avant garde Flora Purim, Ursula Dudziak and Norma Winstone explore new ranges of mood and color with the pure sound of the human voice.

While the most acceptable and visible role for women in jazz was singing, beneath the shining stars of Bessie and Billie lay a hidden history of women instrumental-

The second annual Women's Jazz Festival in Kansas City this March featured both long-time favorites like vocalist Carmen McRae (upper right) and Marian McPartland (upper left), and amazing new talents like Monette Sudler (left). In the finale concert, Melba Liston (above), one of the International Sweethearts of Rhythm in the '40s, stood out. For the first time in five years, she returned from the West Indies to perform in Kansas City. —Maggie Pohlen

ists. The most prominent players were pianists. But women horn players, guitarists and bassists were on the scene as well.

If it has been hard for women jazz artists to be taken seriously as players, it has been even harder for them to make their mark as bandleaders. The proliferation of "all-girl" bands in the Depression era, with such names as The Coquettes, The Hollywood Debs, Babe Bagan and Her Redheads, and Eleanor Stein and Her Smoothies did little to dispel the novelty act image of women musicians. One of the only groups to be considered an accomplished jazz outfit was the Ray Blanton and Her Melodians.

Even fewer women led successful male bands, though their potential for recognition may have been greater due to the greater respect accorded male musicians. Billie Holiday fronted her own orchestra in the studio, and in 1939, Ella Fitzgerald took over the renowned big band of the late Chick Webb. Often the leadership was symbolic.

The first woman in the post-bebop era to earn acclaim and success as a group leader was Marian McPartland. Although she started out with three strikes against her—being British, white and female—McPartland's optimism was unaffected. In a *Ms.* interview she told Leonard Feather, "Being a woman could be an asset. It was unusual enough for people to remember me, and club owners hire musicians who draw audiences; they don't care if the draw is a man or a woman."

She was also one of the first able to break away from the limitations of musical family relationships (she was married to cornetist Jimmy McPartland). The shadow of the male reputation had been cast over the careers of many jazz women. Neither Norma Teagarden nor Blanche Calloway seriously rivaled the popularity of their male siblings (Jack and Cab). Others, like pianist Marge O'Grady, who wed Zutty Singleton, quit playing after marriage.

Two other modern musicians who have been unrestrained by the bonds of musical marriages are Toshiko Akiyoshi and Carla Bley (see feature). Akiyoshi, who had been married to reedman Charlie Mariano, now co-leads the premier big band in jazz with her husband Lew Tabackin.

Besides being a superb jazz pianist, Akiyoshi represents several peaks of achievement: She is a woman leading an all-male orchestra, which is, in effect, an instrument to perform her own book of musical compositions; she has risen through being the highest paid studio musician in Japan to universal acclaim (the recent album *Insights* was named best record in the 1978 *down beat* international jazz critics' poll); and through the introduction of such diverse cultural influences as Japanese Noh drama, she is almost singlehandedly modernizing the sound of big band jazz.

Many of Akiyoshi's musical themes reflect her social consciousness. In her "Tales of a Courtesan" (1975), Akiyoshi explains, "I tried to express in the music this contrast between being a cultured woman, leading what was superficially a very gay and luxurious life, while suffering from a tragic denial of human rights."

Like the other great jazz composers, Ellington and Mingus, Akiyoshi relies on the moods and movement of the music to convey her intended message. "Minamata," the passionate masterwork from *Insights*, is a dynamic portrait of a small fishing village devastated by mercury poi-

soning as its industry is commercialized. The imagery is vivid, the music accessible and deeply moving.

Very few jazz women have had administrative or creative control in the recording industry. In the 1940s, Helen Oakley supervised recordings for Johnny Hodges and other Ellington sidemen, and Bess Berman was a co-owner of Apollo Records. Since then, with a few exceptions (Helen Keane, Bill Evans' manager has also produced his recent album), the record is poor.

The inaccessibility of the production and distribution machinery, and the unwillingness of the recording industry to take promotional risks, has provoked many jazz musicians to set up their own labels. Not surprisingly, many of the leaders have been women. Betty Carter, Mary Lou Williams and Carla Bley have all recorded and marketed their own records.

In 1971, Marian McPartland established Halcyon Records, which now has over a dozen records in its catalog and makes enough money to continue production. The latest release, *Now's the Time*, features McPartland, Vi Redd, Mary Osborne, Lynn Milano, and the legendary drummer Dottie Dodgion. It is the first all-woman jazz lp since *Cats Versus Chicks*, pro-

duced by Leonard Feather in 1954, and is a solid collection of swinging straight-ahead standards.

The movement for greater exposure and control has also led to an annual Women's Jazz Festival in Kansas City. Organized last year by Dianne Gregg and jazz musician Carol Comer, the festival featured a performance of "Mary Lou's Mass" by pianist Williams, and a concert bill including Carter, McPartland, Osborne, Dodgion and capped by the Akiyoshi-Tabackin Big Band.

This last March, the second annual festival brought together McPartland, Carmen McRae, Joanne Brackeen, Ursula Dudziak and a women's combo led by Melba Liston.

The growing determination of women jazz artists to create and control their music intersects, but is not identical with the development of women's music as a cultural entity. Although it may require women's jazz festivals and such groups as Jill McManus and the Jazz Sisters, the voice of women in jazz must also be heard in the bands of Toshiko Akiyoshi and Carla Bley. For as jazz women set themselves free from traditional limits, so they will, in the spontaneous interaction that is the heart of the music, redefine the boundaries of the art and the culture it represents.

Bley-ing everything



By Marty Jezer

Composer and keyboard player Carla Bley successfully bridges the worlds of serious avant-garde jazz and accessible, popular entertainment. Her roots are firmly in jazz (Ellington and Mingus are influences in her composition), but her inspirations are extraordinarily diverse: oom pah pah and rock'n'roll, vaudeville, big band swing, circus and movie music, Dada, Spike Jones, modern European classical, hillbilly, the blues and even music from the Spanish civil war. Her music can be somber or wildly satirical. In person, she is a flaky, funny, intuitive entertainer.

At a recent concert in Montreal, she began with an extended put-on that had her audience wondering whether they were attending a jazz concert or a revival

of Sid Caesar's "Three Haircuts" routine. Her nine sidemen, some of the best jazzmen in New York, appeared first in t-shirts, jeans and sneakers. Bley followed them on stage, gowned in a nondescript schmata, juggling sheet music. First the drummer set the wrong tempo. Then the trumpet missed his cue. Alto and tenor sax players botched their chorus and began to argue. The pianist messed up a boogie woogie riff and Bley had to sit beside him to demonstrate how she wanted it. The audience tittered. Was this really a comic routine? Or was the band unprepared?

But music eventually prevailed, and the comedy became less contrived. Carla Bley wrote all the numbers. Her compositions often begin with pretty melodies, stated by one or two instruments. Then different combinations of instruments pick up the theme, carrying it through varying textures, moods and voicing. Meanwhile, as with Mingus and Ellington, individual soloists weave in and out of the orchestration, perhaps followed by a marching band ensemble or a series of trombone growls or assorted animal noises.

Carla Bley's blend of music and comedy did not develop overnight. Born in Oakland, Cal., in 1938, she went on the road as a teenager, landing a job as a cig-

Recorded legends

Jazz Women: A Feminist Retrospective, a double lp on Stash Records, contains 34 significant tunes recorded by women artists from the 1920s through the 1950s. Despite the album's somewhat nostalgic bent and an uneven potpourri of jazz styles, it provides a rare opportunity to appreciate many unfairly ignored and often brilliant jazz performances.

The record opens with Lovie Austin, a legendary Chicago pianist of the '20s. Mary Lou Williams, one of the greats of modern piano, recalls watching Austin perform: "She sat cross-legged at the piano, a cigarette in her mouth, writing music with her right hand while accompanying the show with her swinging left!"

Other early players include Lil Hardin Armstrong, who is remembered more for her marriage to Louis than for her piano work with King Oliver or for leading one of the first "all-girl" swing bands of the '30s. The talented Dolly Jones, Valaida Snow and Billie Rogers can be heard on trumpet, Viola Burnside and Kathy Stobart

on tenor sax.

Also featured are several women musicians who provide direct links to the current jazz scene: guitarist Mary Osborne, who has been playing lately after years of inactivity; trombonist Melba Liston who has done arrangements for Dizzy Gillespie, Count Basie and Art Blakey; and pianists Marian McPartland and Mary Lou Williams. Williams played with Andy Kirk's Clouds of Joy Orchestra in the '30s, influenced Bud Powell and Thelonius Monk in the '40s, and continues as one of the great performers and teachers of piano today.

Jazz Women is actually less a feminist collection than a much needed tribute to the neglected past of female jazz performers. And it makes clear that the women instrumentalists in jazz today—such as pianists Joanne Brackeen and Patrice Rusner, saxophonists Vi Redd and Jane Bloom, guitarists Carol Kaye and Monette Sudler—are emerging not from a vacuum, but a rich historical heritage.

—Derk Richardson

arette girl at Birdland, Broadway's bebop mecca, and later as a hat-check girl at the Five Spot and Jazz Gallery, where musicians like Coleman, Coltrane, Mingus and Thelonius Monk often played.

During the '60s she became part of the New York avant-garde jazz scene. She was a principal organizer of the Jazz Composers' Orchestra, a cooperative organization, and did arranging for Charlie Haden's much-admired but short-lived Liberation Orchestra. Their one album, including Spanish Civil War songs, Haden's haunting "Song for Che," and his statement on the Democratic Convention in Chicago, "Circus '68," was hailed by critics, but ABC/Impulse did not promote it. (It has since been re-released but remains difficult to get.)

She and her husband, composer and trumpet player Mike Mantler, started their own record label, WATT, and joined other avant-

garde musicians in a non-profit distribution service. In the early '70s she recorded an ambitious three-album jazz opera, "Escalator over the Hill," with a huge cast of musicians, including Gato Barbieri, Don Cherry, John McLaughlin and Linda Ronstadt.

In the mid-'70s, she toured in a rock band led by Jack Bruce and Mick Taylor. This left her determined to play her own music before live audiences, and the Carla Bley Band is a result. The effort is a shoestring operation. Her music is written to be performed by larger aggregations than the handful she can afford to tour with—at least until word-of-mouth enlarges her audiences. As it is, her sidemen play for the challenge and richness of her compositions, and for the fun they have cutting up on stage.

Records by Carla Bley, including her latest, Musique Mecanique (WATT), are available from New Music Distribution Service, 6 W. 95th St., New York, NY 10025.



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MUSIC

Phil Ochs died twice

By Beth Bogart

Phil Ochs, troubador of the '60s, killed himself three years ago—a victim of the '70s, his own insecurities and his obsession with death.

Ochs was a singing journalist, the minstrel of Kentucky coal miners, Vietnam War protesters and disillusioned radicals. He was a poet with an ear for a good tune, a leftist with a sense of humor. His fans (never numerous, but loyal) imagined his life off-stage was as moral as the lyrics of his songs.

Marc Eliot attempts—quite successfully—the delicate demystification of his friend Phil in a new biography, *Death of a Rebel: Starring Phil Ochs and a Small Circle of Friends* (Doubleday). Begun, Eliot says, the day after Ochs hung himself, the book is a last tribute to a pal, a revealing look at the underbelly of Ochs' life and a brief glimpse of the early Greenwich Village folk scene, the anti-war movement, the Chicago riots and the professional music industry. The biography also of-

fers some fresh peeks at an interesting circle of friends that included Bob Dylan, Victor Jara, Jerry Rubin, Ramsey Clark, Pete Seeger, Dave Van Ronk and numerous other musicians.

This biography is thorough, well-written, lively, tender but honest. Eliot does not cover up Ochs' alcohol problem, temper tantrums, physical and mental decline during the 1970s, mistreatment of women (particularly those that loved him), selfishness, ambition or sexism. Eliot does not hide that Ochs wanted to be a star, with songs on the charts, as much as he wanted to be the conscience of his generation.

The biography traces Ochs' evolution from clarinet player in a Virginia military school to guitar player in "The Singing Socialists" at Ohio State University to topical folk singer in Greenwich Village to nihilist poet in Hollywood.

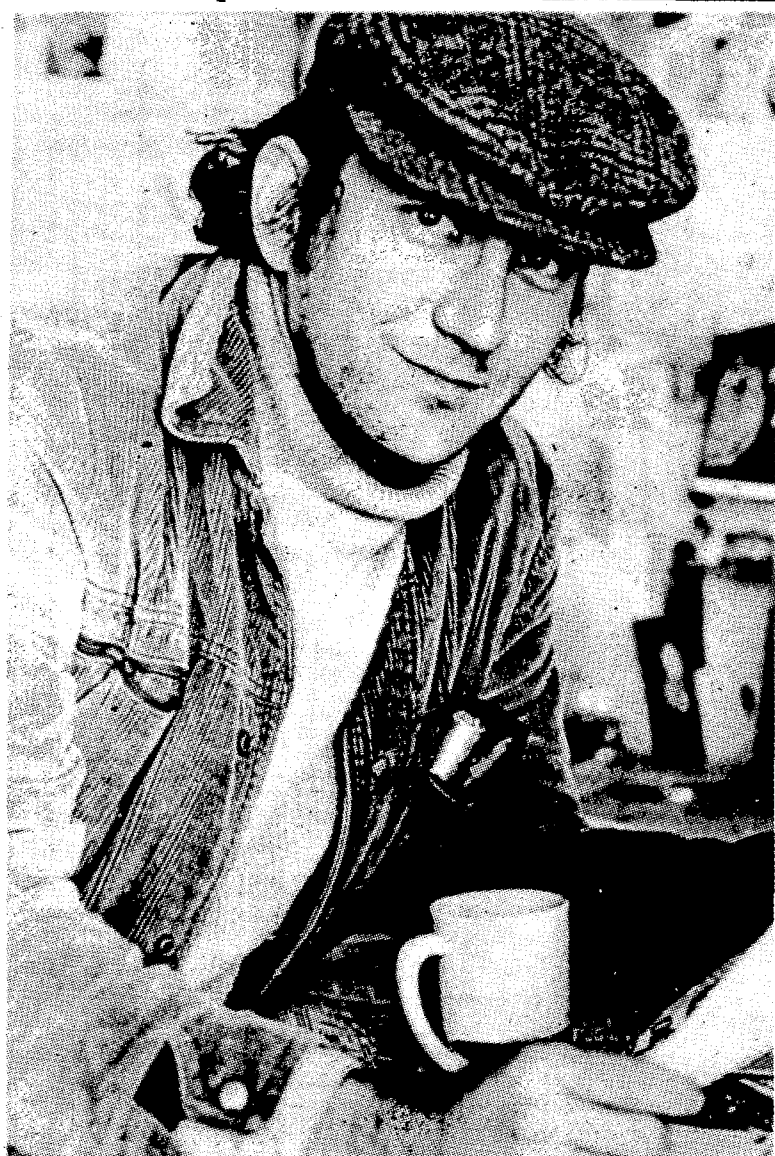
Eliot describes Phil in the '60s, when the songwriter mirrored the country's energy and optimism. During those fecund years, Phil wrote lyrics on any scrap of paper he could find; played benefit con-

certs whenever asked around the country; sold out Carnegie Hall and had three successful albums.

Eliot fills in the details of Ochs' first "death" in 1968, when Richard Nixon's election quelled his political interests and rock ended his topical songwriting.

Eliot writes about Ochs' time in Los Angeles, when the reporter became the poet, increasingly introspective and increasingly obsessed with death. The biography chronicles Phil's failed marriage and other relationships with women, his inability to write new songs after 1972, his later concerts in which he wore a gold lame suit like Elvis Presley's and was booed off the stage by an audience hungry for '60s nostalgia, and his degeneration into John Train the last year of his life, a violent, usually drunk persona who alienated most of Ochs' friends.

The biography includes lyrics of many of Phil's songs and photographs of the songwriter and friends, useful clues in fitting together the puzzle of Ochs' life and death. Pieces are still missing, but Eliot's sleuthing makes captivating reading. ■



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ART

Daumier drew bourgeoisie with acid eye

By Todd Gitlin

Honore Daumier, the centenary of whose death is honored by the show now at the Los Angeles Museum of Art (through June 3), worked mostly in caricature. His work was soaked in immediate reality, a reality his audience could—at least at one level—grasp instantly. True, Daumier did sculpt and paint (there are examples of both in the show), but the space and honor deservedly go to Daumier's lithographs, most of which he published in Parisian newspapers.

Truly this is an impressive collection, said to be the largest assemblage of Daumier's work outside Paris. Only one of the very rich and discriminating could have accumulated it in this case, Armand Hammer, collector extraordinaire, head of Occidental Petroleum, who in the 1920s was the major American investor in the Russian market opened up by Lenin's New Economic Policy.

Daumier's work is strong and savage; one almost feels the acid that inscribed the image in the stone. The work is especially strong in contrast to today's bland commentaries. In the genteel tones of *New Yorker* cartoons, for example, the cartoonist stands as an eavesdropper. A *New Yorker* cartoon joins cartoonist and reader in an unspoken conspiracy: "You and I," it winks, "are beyond all this superficial, trendy, and finally pathetic foolishness." Thus the *New Yorker* cartoon, as critic Clare Spark puts it, blends together ironic comment and instruction in etiquette. It ends up serving well as sufficiently distanced comment to adorn the walls of the lower levels of our bureaucracies, as Robin Gurse, a student at Berkeley, discovered when she compared the wall decorations of higher and lower level office staff. The higher one's position, the more likely one was to mount posters making direct statements.

Daumier took refuge in dis-

Honore Daumier's style contrasts sharply with *New Yorker* cartoons, which blend irony with etiquette. Daumier could be savagely blunt.

tances, too, but at times he was much more blunt. His 1831 cartoon "Gargantua" shows the unmistakable image of the just-ascending robber king Louis Philippe wolfing down the tribute carried up a gangplank into his mouth by a small army of the poor. It earned Daumier a six-month jail term. His images of the high professions as they coalesced into props of the new bourgeois order were devastating. In "The public, my dear, is stupid," a high-hatted doctor explains, "We will bleed them white—we will purge them to death," as a funeral procession looms in the background. The fine print text refers to a recipe for "a new cure made from a grain of nothing at all pounded into millions of molecules." Daumier's famous lawyers are venal and pompous monopolists of jargonized fact, decreeing the fates of others. His bourgeois hogs space in a third class railroad car, gloating that here "one can be asphyxiated but never assassinated," while crowded workers stare sullenly away. Daumier is Balzac in images; he shows the whole of the boisterous, mad bourgeois world. He rarely descends to the sentimental and his mockery extends across many lines: to the health fads of the bourgeoisie, to feminists as well as Bohemian artists. He presents a whole world of gestures, as if bourgeois society were reduced to discrete moments of false pride and overweening pettiness.



Mr. Prud'homme: "Hurrah for third class cars. One can be asphyxiated, but never assassinated." (1864)

A blunt artist, Daumier, despite censorship; but curiously, he was able to be blunt because he mastered techniques of great delicacy. His work had a force that is missing in many of today's cartoons because one never knows exactly how to take the objects of his scorn. Daumier was able to use newsprint to his advantage. With his grey subtleties of shading, he suggests these people are complicated; by exaggerating their facial features and expressions he suggests just how simple they are. The tension between these two modes gives Daumier's style some of its enduring force, its challenge to the partitioned categories of high art and caricature both.

All this is in the lithographs, but the L.A. County Museum makes it hard to puzzle out what Daumier was about. Unlike the catalogue, the exhibit itself presents no historical information, rendering many of the lithographs incomprehensible. The small print that Daumier was at pains to include goes untranslated. The caricatures go suddenly, mysteriously out of chronological order around the time of the great failed revolution of 1848, making it impossible to trace Daumier's route through the upheaval, impossible to verify the possibility that his work was weakened, trivialized, by Louis Napoleon's censorship.

But what's mere historical

chronology in the face of pure art? Instead of outlining French history, the show begins with a map of 19th-century Paris. Evidently we are meant to visit the show as tourists, not as citizens of a history that continues the one Daumier lived in.

But Daumier's acid can survive this neutralization. His work now enshrined, his reputation elevated, Daumier would revel in the scene. His eye would collect the collectors.

Todd Gitlin teaches sociology at the University of California, Berkeley. He thanks Clare Spark of KPFF, Los Angeles, for her insights.

DISCO

Village People go straight

By Tom Smucker

The first Village People album had a black and white cover photo taken on a late summer night somewhere around the gay bars in west Greenwich Village. Inside on the record Victor Willis' soul-music solos emoted over an all male chorus on songs about various gay hot spots. Disco music had come out of gay male nightlife, so why not an all-male disco group that sang about it? The whole thing felt inevitable.

What didn't seem as inevitable was the way straight audiences, either ignoring or completely missing the gay content, picked up on "San Francisco," the hit cut from the album. Here was a group that could appeal not just to the gay sub-culture, but to the vast straight horde as well. Jacques Morali, French creator and producer of the group, saw the possibilities and took it from there.

The next two albums, especially the two big hits, "Macho Man" and "YMCA," played



the game of being gay to those who wanted to see gay and straight to those who were happier ignoring it. They also gently mocked both scenes with their over-stated fake wide-eyed innocence.

But something more than a novel appeal to two cultures was happening. Their combination of simplified Otis Redding, the Sing Along With Mitch Gang, a disco beat, and male narcissism was making them the hottest selling group in the country, as the prom-

inent display of all their albums in any record store will prove.

Maybe, as one of the Village People suggested in *Rolling Stone*, they gained this popularity because they gave disco a face at a time when the music was intriguing Mid-America but disorienting in its anonymity. Disco had and has few recognizable media stars.

Maybe they reveal a new similarity developing between straight and gay, a sharing of the same

male beauty standards. Stephen Holden argues in a recent *Village Voice* that they signal a new interest by straight males in their own sexual appeal, making them more like gays. A scared-of-women-male-buddy tradition exists in America, with a repressed homosexuality that's the source of much anti-gay and anti-women energy in straight men. Is it finally falling apart? Or just being reworked?

Some gay men see the Village People as a rip-off. They never identify themselves as gay anymore and appear content (on the Merv Griffin show, for instance) to be taken for straight. And it's easier to see how a woman dancing to "Macho Man" in a straight disco where the straight men aren't in on the joke might find it less than pleasant. But it's hard to resist, or at least not stand in awe of their absurdly exhilarating pop exploitations. Who would have dreamed, ten years ago, that we would be dancing to what sounds like the chorus from *Oklahoma!* singing about "ups and down" (the pills) or chanting "body, body, feel my body"?

Actually, on their new album *Go West*, their real problem is not in ripping anybody off, but in

becoming what much of their straight audience imagines them to be—and nothing more.

"In the Navy," the new hit single, like "YMCA," uses a straight institution with special meaning for gays. But the Navy doesn't lend itself to naivete as well as the YMCA did. No one's sung this chirpily about the Navy in 30 years. Furthermore, the gay double meanings have all but disappeared—there's no subculture implied in these lyrics—and what's left sounds closer to a march than to disco. The beat remains, but there's none of disco's ebbs, build-ups, or propulsion. It isn't good to dance to.

In just two years, have the Village People moved all the way from the gay bars of Greenwich Village to a patriotic pop mainstream even John Wayne can't find anymore? Maybe. But it's still hard not to laugh at how far they dare to go in their happy simplifications. And it's hard not to hope they'll find something new to mine or undermine in our tradition of he-man song. Who knows, maybe their next album will contain a disco version of the Red Army Chorus singing Mead-dowland.

By Peter Picard

Meeting someone whose name, face and personal style have become as familiar as Howard Cosell's is an unsettling experience—like meeting a close friend who has amnesia. It's shocking to recall that television, with its phony intimacy, is yet a one-way form of communication.

When I met Cosell, however, I found him to be surprisingly open and affable. Indeed, shortly after he began to talk I had the uneasy feeling that I had stepped into a full-blown, rather baroque philosophy lecture.

In the *NEW YORKER* a few years ago, critic Michael Arlen noted that Cosell's appeal seemed to come from his apparent restrained anger: "As with the proverbial man at the party who throws his weight around without actually hitting anyone, the focus of Cosell's public personality seems to be on what he might say, or finally do; it is not so much on anger or violence itself as on anger or violence temporarily held back."

What was most disturbing about this implicit hostility, for Arlen, was its apparent directionlessness. Cosell's tendency to bully athletes and colleagues (his "telegenic sadism") served only to underscore his final detachment from them and from sports in general—a model of behavior Arlen felt was both contagious and malignant.

When I talked about this charge with Cosell, my inquiry tapped some hidden agenda of charges and counter-charges, and Cosell reacted not to my questions but to some large confederacy of opponents: the public, the press, other broadcast professionals.

He spoke, in his familiar, refined-Brooklyn accent, in carefully weighted periodic sentences; I could hear the semicolons slip into place. The rise and fall of his rhetorical flourishes was captivating. And despite his pomposity, occasional braggadocio, studied pedantry and, yes, simple aggression, he seemed to be a generous, likeable man.

When I see you on TV, how much of what I'm seeing is simple performance?

Well, what do you mean, specifically? What sort of person have I developed, in your mind? And how much of that has been developed not by me but by what you've been subconsciously taught through the press?

I see you being aggressive in pushing athletes, for example, to be more serious than we ordinarily think them to be.

How is that aggression? Isn't that journalism? In fact, haven't you been taught by the sporting press in general—there are exceptions—that athletes are sacred, that all of them are heroes and that they're different from other public figures? Why would it be aggressive to bring journalism to sports? Did it ever occur to you that maybe the sportswriters, (a) weren't capable of it, (b) didn't want it—for a wide variety of reasons relating to their way of life?

Why wouldn't they want it?

For years, sportswriters—many of them—have been allowed to travel with teams at team expense; in some cases they even eat and board at team expense.

The sports editor of the *New York Daily News* recently did a radio commercial for the Madison Square Garden boxing program; he also writes the *New York Mets'* promotional film and gets paid for it; his son-in-law, upon graduation from Penn State, was immediately named head of *Mets Radio and Television*.

The principal sports columnist for the *Atlanta Journal*—his son, at birth, was given a scholarship to Georgia Tech in return for favors to be paid to the Georgia Tech football program by the journalist in his column. The lad grew up, he went to Georgia Tech on the scholarship. The student newspaper uncovered it, the scholarship was revoked—but the columnist still writes for the *Journal*.

One of the things I've tried to do is to bring journalism to sports. In the meantime, my own industry militates against

I'm mad as hell...



Howard Cosell takes on sports writers and the sports business.

that to a great degree: (a) at the local level, with regard to the presentation of games—on average, teams hire the announcers, which is ridiculous from the point of view of journalism—and (b) on the network level they are hiring jocks, people totally untrained and untutored in communication. So there has been a paucity of journalism in my field.

What is the role of the sports journalist? We turn on the TV and see three or four commentators working together and one seems to have one role, one another and so forth—

That's in the presentation of a game! That's the least important element in sports! Nothing could be less important than who wins or loses a game! In early April, at the behest of Griffin Bell, I am addressing the entire staff of attorneys in the Department of Justice; after that, I'll be at Yale University accepting the Pointer Fellowship in Journalism—nobody from sports ever got that.

Don't you see, you live in a city [Minneapolis] right now where the whole problem is: will your team evacuate? Will there be a stadium built? So many broad legal, economic, political and sociological questions enter into that. Somebody who played a game doesn't even know where to begin! Nor do most sportswriters.

But what about fans: when they see sports on TV isn't that all they see, the package with the commentators and so forth?

That's in the presentation of games! I've tried to go beyond that! And what about fans? Fans have been taught that they're sacred! And so, in accordance with Burke's *Reconciliation of America*, there is the great fundamental confusion: they confuse liberty with license. Thus one

of the most disturbing phenomena in sports today—the rapid acceleration of fan violence. The fan has been taught a sports syndrome—a whole syndrome—primarily by sportswriters because it began before television was even in being.

The first proposition—and each proposition has a natural concomitant—being that the game is sanctimony. One would think they played the games in the Vatican.

That leads to proposition two: winning isn't everything; it's the only thing. Thus the national mania to be number one. Who created that? The press. The polls. Who bastardized the Olympics, and made it the U.S. against Russia? The press, with its unofficial point-scoring system; so that the spirit of individual achievement went by the boards, before we even televised a single Olympiad.

Sports is child's play; there's nothing complex about sports. In boxing, one man tries to out-point the other or knock him out; in football, you're trying to get a pigskin across a given line; in tennis the boundaries are marked, you hit the ball over the net; in basketball it's been the same forever, you've got the white lines and so on.

Then you get to proposition three: all athletes are heroes, people to be worshipped. They may be alcoholics, they may be drug addicts, adulterers—but they're heroes, assuming in many American homes the role of a substitute parent-figure.

That leads you to item four: sport is Camelot; it's our out, our great release, our entertainment. Don't do anything to upset it! We don't want to know the truth!

Which leads to number five: damn it, we're the fans! We pay to see these games

—which, for the most part, they don't—they get 'em for free on TV which pays, in effect, the athlete's salary and owners' profits—we can do whatever we want.

And so Dr. Arnold Beisser, who is head of clinical psychology for the city of Los Angeles, in his great book *The Madness in Sports*, writes there are two different human beings: the person outside the arena and what he becomes when he goes into the arena. And arenas these days are not safe places for many people who want to take their families to an event.

How are sports important?

Sports are important because people have bought the syndrome. The very language of the nation is now infected with sport. Presidents talk about game plans, touching base, we've gotta score—read Robert Lipsyte's brilliant book, *Sports-world: An American Dreamland* (See *ITT* Lipsyte interview, Jan. 31). Sports infects the law, the politics, the economics and the sociology of the society.

In 1980, the Rams will move from Los Angeles to Anaheim and the Los Angeles *Herald Examiner* is writing every day, "We want the Vikings or the Raiders!" Max Winter is threatening to move. Los Angeles got the Dodgers from Brooklyn, the Rams from Cleveland, the Lakers from Minneapolis. And when the Dodgers, the most profitable team in the National League, moved to L.A., the municipality gave them 300 choice downtown acres, dispossessed people from the Bunker Hill development.

A man has taken the state of New Jersey and made it his personal playground with the Meadowlands Development. The public doesn't even understand. There is no northern state in the country with a greater urban blight than New Jersey—and they built a racetrack and a stadium as a front for the racetrack. Now they're building an indoor arena. And the stadium houses the Giants, who had the most profitable team in the NFL in New York but deserted to make even more money in a sweetheart situation in New Jersey.

The Giants, having one of the loudest teams in football for 15 years, deserted New York City at a time when that desertion lent nourishment to the notion that the world's greatest city was in unsalvageable decay. They stripped the city of millions of dollars in needed city and state tax monies.

They went because they could go in and own all of the concessions at the new stadium—and there are 96 season boxes that produce an annual gross income of better than \$1.8 million. Those gross proceeds go to Wellington Mara and his heirs for the length of the long-term sweetheart lease. And these boxes are part of the capital structure that was underwritten by a bond issue, on which you have to pay interest—we call that the dead service charger—so that taxpayers are now paying taxes on the proceeds going to Wellington Mara. And yet four miles south, the city of Newark just had to let go 200 desperately needed policemen, and 40 miles south, Atlantic City legalized casino gambling.

Now look at the double standard of the press. The press, on the TV critics' side, say, "They always want to appeal to the lowest common denominator; it's a disgrace, give us intelligence." But then look at the sports department, running those silly, non-scientific polls—"Ah, look! They don't like Howard Cosell." So they're defeating the very precepts and concepts they're supposed to stand for—and pretend to stand for—in terms of integrity and independence.

But things are happening in this country. You're going to see great changes in the next few years in the press and in the law. One of Washington's most prominent lawyers has just written a marvelous legal tract called "The Power of the Press: A Problem for Our Democracy." And truth on the sports page is just as important as truth on the editorial page. Because the plight of cities is involved, taxes are involved, a loss of a franchise is involved—and how about human rights?

How was it possible that when Muhammad Ali was deprived of two constitution-

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